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New Republic

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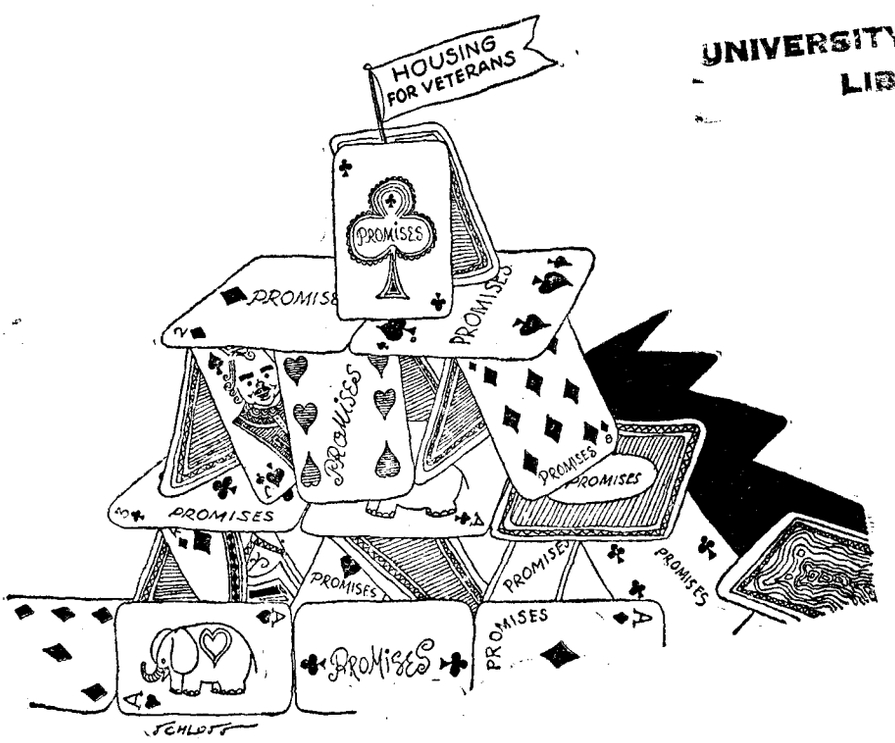

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 11 NEW YORK, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1946 NUMBER 1659

The Big Issue at Stuttgart

IF IT COULD BE considered in a vacuum, there is much in Secretary Byrnes's Stuttgart speech with which nearly every American would agree. It is true that taking reparations from the current low level of production permitted Germany means intolerable hardships to the German people. It is true that to take away the Ruhr and the Rhineland from a future peaceful and democratic Germany would create problems far greater than it would settle. It is true that Americans have been profoundly disturbed about the wisdom of the virtually unilateral settlement of the German-Polish and Polish-Russian frontiers. It is true that Americans troops will doubtless be needed for a long time in Germany and good news that we intend to keep them there. It is further true that if Germany is actually denazified and put on the road to democracy, the sooner she has a unified economic life and a centralized, autonomous government, the better.

But no speech can be read in a vacuum, and least of all that of Secretary Byrnes. Whatever its purpose may have been, its over-all result is likely to be another nail in the coffin we are rapidly building for coöperation between West and East. During the war it was said repeatedly that in the long run the Nazis would have won an important partial victory if Russia and the Anglo-American bloc fell to quarreling and began to compete with one another for Germany's good will as an ally in a future cold war of nerves if not a hotter war of steel and atoms. Today we are dangerously near to having achieved that partial Nazi victory. Both in Europe and America, the Byrnes speech is being interpreted as a reply to Molotov's earlier speech on the future of Germany. It is being said that we are making a counter bid and raising the ante. If this is true to any important degree, the end result can only be disaster.

It is certainly true that Potsdam needs now to be rewritten in the light of subsequent developments. Destroying German industry, moving that country in some degree toward the impossible ideal of an agrarian nation, is now out the window. Many things have been done in the Anglo-American zone which must be regretted and, if the inadequate reports received are even 50-percent reliable, even more things in that category have been done in the Russian zone. But the answer is not unilateral action by the United States, or bilateral action by the United States and Great Britain. The answer is a bargaining among all the great powers, not only in regard to Germany but on all other issues throughout the world. The *New Republic*, in common with many others, has argued that the statesmen at Paris were wrong to try to settle peripheral problems while leaving the German issue unresolved. But that did not mean that we should now try to solve it by solitary action, or by putting a pistol to Russia's head. The future peace of the world is more important than the immediate welfare of the German people.

So far as we know, none of the three great powers has made any effort yet to arrive at a settlement for that future peace of the world. The Anglo-Americans have made demands, and so have the Russians, but neither side has offered the other any definite, solid, worldwide program which could be accepted, rejected, or made the basis for a possible compromise. Perhaps the Russians are waiting for capitalism to crack up; if so, they are naïve about their timetable and more naïve in assuming that such a crackup, if it ever comes, would produce a situation to their advantage. Perhaps Britain and America are waiting for Russia to collapse of her own weight, because of internal stress. If so, this is the mistake of the early 1920's all over again; it is as foolish an assumption now as it was then. It is high time that we should stop making speeches about the need for coöperation while we act as though we thought coöperation was not only impossible but undesirable. After all, the fact that the United States, temporarily, knows more about atomic bombs than any other country, does not justify us in following a course that makes an ultimate atomic war more likely.

Dave Beck Unionism

The victory of the AFL in the recent NLRB elections in California's canneries brings much closer the day when West Coast and the nation as a whole, for

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that matter, will have to face up to the difficult questions involved in the Dave Beck type of trade unionism. Although the election results are not yet a technical victory (the AFL won a plurality that will not be a majority until the challenged ballots are counted), the plurality itself is an unquestioned triumph.

From beginning to end, this contest for the control of these 60,000 cannery workers has been a comi-tragedy of forged letters, mistakes, legal blunders and tricks, behind-the-scenes maneuvers and unvarnished pressure tactics. It is by far the most complicated legal situation that has yet faced the NLRB as well as the second largest election they've supervised. Although the teamsters fought the CIO on the Communist issue, so far as volume of propaganda is concerned, their ace card of power was their open threat to close down the canneries with a teamster boycott should the CIO win. To seasonal workers, whose winter unemployment benefits depend on their earning at least a minimum of $300 in the summer, this was a very real threat indeed.

For the rest, as a sample of what jurisdictional disputes are becoming, this cannery election makes a case history worthy of serious study. Money was poured out by both sides. Organizers from all over the country were imported. Loudspeakers, parades, jazz records, rallies, tons of leaflets and myriads of buttons made a circus of the noon hour at every cannery involved. It was more like a contest between two beauty queens than a prelude to a free choice of workers between two unions. Needless to say, the canners themselves are highly pleased at the outcome.

Stocks Go Down

In spite of the downward plunge of the securities markets, financial and editorial commentators as well as spokesmen for official Washington are at pains to dispel any possible impression that this may be reflecting a fundamental shift in our economic trend. Characteristic of this treatment the New York *Times*, in its financial as well as editorial columns, places the blame either on strike threats or on such trivialities as the views of radio commentators and the elimination of margin trading. Secretary of the Treasury Synder merely remarks that all his experts seem to have different views on the matter, while President Truman, although expressing an interest, admits that he doesn't know the answer.

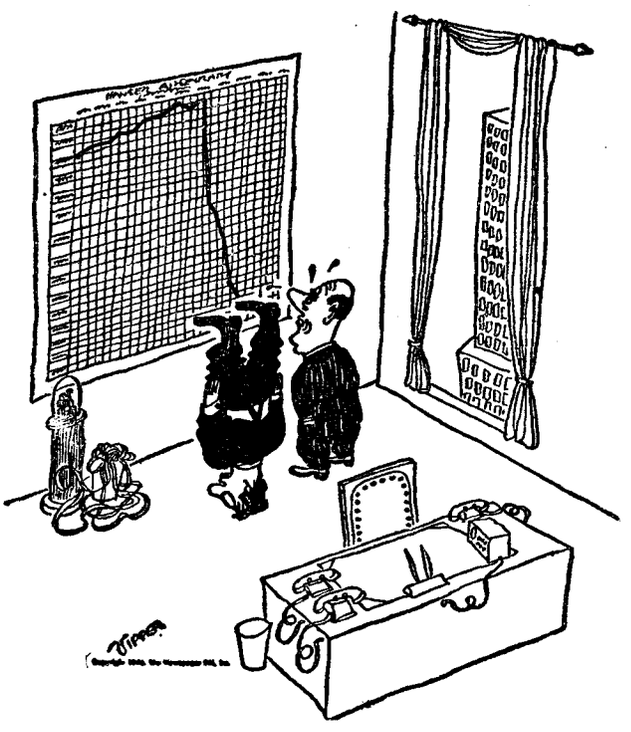
Several weeks before the real break, however, Secretary Wallace made a statement as to the dangers of an imminent "bust" for which he was promptly taken to task by Civilian Production Administrator Small, who produced a great array of figures to prove that we need fear no break for some years to come.

But there are good reasons to believe that businessmen are expecting a deflation in the near future, and further that they are welcoming it and doing what they can to encourage it. The only way that business can break the hold of labor, they feel, is by a shake-out and some unemployment.

There is also growing evidence that large investors and investment firms in New York and elsewhere have been selling securities as fast as possible for several weeks. The action of the capital markets alone would confirm this as the kind of break which could never have been caused by the sporadic sales of small investors but only by the concentrated and persistent liquidation of large and informed stockholders.

Why, it may be asked, would the insiders be selling their holdings at a time when all the industrial and employment indexes are so high and prospects apparently so rosy? One part of the answer is that many of the largest operators are no longer bullish on the outlook for the USA. Much of the confidence in uninterrupted good times for several years to come has been built on the deferred demand and the accumulated liquid savings built up during the war. It is now apparent that these factors have been exaggerated, that much of the demand consists of duplicate orders and that savings are so distributed that the higher income groups hold most of them.

Another strong argument for sustained employment and incomes is the housing program. This also gives evidence of breaking out at the seams. The short-term veterans' part of the program seems to be badly delayed by shortages, while the long-term and more important part is jeopardized by the unwillingness of private



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"It's all in how you look at it, J. B."

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capital to finance housing for low rental and the failure of Congress to adopt measures for government assistance.

Finally there is growing concern as to the contribution of business investment to the total national income. Economists feel that annual business expenditures on plant and equipment of over $20 billion would be commensurate with a national income on the order of $150 billion. But business expenditures have been running at an annual rate of only about $10 billion, and anticipations for the next six months, while higher than actual expenditures, are only at the rate of $12 billion.

If the eight-billion-dollar gap persists, free enterprise will again have failed to sustain prosperity and prevent deflation. It will then devolve upon the government to provide the necessary investment in one form or another. Is the government prepared to do so? Has it a program? Or does the break in the securities market imply the doubts of investors as to the ability of business or the inclination of this Administration to take effective measures to prevent a repetition of the cycle of the 1930's?

Dairy Prices

MILK, BUTTER AND CHEESE PRICES are moving up. Supplies are decidedly lower than a year ago, so further sharp increases are expected unless price ceilings are restored. The OPA wants them back quickly, but the Price Decontrol Board is still waiting to see what happens.

Most of the increases so far in these important consumer items have been caused by the removal of subsidies, but in many cases the prices have gone beyond the point needed to make up for this loss, and the real shortages ahead will provide more pressure on the price front.

Government statistics do not tell the full story of what is happening, but they give a hint. The subsidy on milk ranged from slightly below two cents a quart to a little above that figure in Eastern cities where there was a special subsidy for distributors as well as producers. By the middle of July Bureau of Labor Statistics figures showed prices had gone up an average of 2.5 cents.

Many housewives can testify this is not the full story. Price increases of eight cents have been reported and rises of three or four cents are general in the East. In most cases the new prices mean increased profits for distributors, whose profits already were at record-breaking levels.

Butter, as every consumer knows, went almost out of sight when price ceilings and subsidies were removed. Prices responded somewhat to consumer pressure for a few weeks, but are now rising again. Current wholesale prices and the prospective shortage of butter promise continued rises, unless ceilings are restored.

BLS figures show retail butter prices jumped almost 50 percent between May 15 and July 15, the latest date for which nation-wide figures have been published. The rise was from 55 cents to 80.5 cents. This was far beyond the amount justified by removal of subsidies—variously estimated at from 14 to 17 cents a pound. Consumer pressure is believed to have brought the butter figure down somewhat after the middle of July, but reports from consumers indicate the price is moving back up again.

Wholesale butter prices now range between 72 and 74 cents, so the retail price is expected to go considerably higher. Government reports showed only 70 million pounds in storage August 1 as compared with 185 million pounds a year before. Production also is running far lower than normal. Storage butter usually carries the country through the fall and winter months when production drops off, so the shortage of stocks threatens a serious crisis in the coming months.

The story on cheese is much the same. A price increase far beyond the subsidy differential already had occurred by the middle of July. While the subsidy was only about seven cents, the price on American cheddar had jumped 10 cents—from 41.3 cents in June to 51.2 in July. Here again the storage picture is bad. Total stocks on hand August 1 were 120 million pounds as compared with 196 million a year before.

The seasonal decline in dairy product production is now underway. The worst period is ahead. That fact—rather than the current price picture—is the basic reason for restoring ceilings. What has happened to prices so far, the experts believe, is only the beginning.

Meat Shortage

Restoration of meat ceiling prices when meats are so scarce confronts price control with its greatest crisis. The situation plays right into the hands of those who want to destroy control and let profits run wild.

Today's shortage is due of course not to price control, but to its absence for more than two months, permitting an orgy of meat consumption that the nation could ill afford at this time.

Now the meat is gone. The damage has been done. The farmers have sold the hogs that should not have been marketed until this month. Removal of price ceilings would not enable them to supply the market until the cattle now being fattened are ready.

The new ceilings are more than adequate to provide a fair return for farmers, packers and distributors. When the meat is available it can move under these ceilings, unless producers and processors are encouraged to believe they can profit more by waiting and forcing removal of the controls.

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That danger can be averted by a firm stand by all officials who have any responsibility for price control.

Once the industry is convinced it cannot win by waiting for ceilings to go off again, meat will be back in the markets.

The Atom at the Crossroads

With the third Bikini atomic bomb test called off, the world can now proceed at a relaxed pace, safe in the knowledge that the next atom bomb will be dropped for wartime purposes only. The reason for the postponement, the White House said, was that previous use of the bomb has given us all the information we need as to its value as a weapon. In addition, the test would have cost some $35 million—a sum the Navy feels it cannot now afford to spend.

Whatever the reasons, the decision is a good one. Now that the Pacific testing of the atom has shown the Navy whatever it has shown about its use in naval warfare, our attention comes back to New York, where a few men of good will are trying to show that it is good for peace.

A non-technical report on possible future uses of atomic energy in producing electric power has been prepared under the direction of Dr. Charles A. Thomas, vice president of the Monsanto Chemical Company. Bernard Baruch, United States representative to the UN Atomic Energy Commission, has submitted the report to that body. Summed up, it states:

1. A 75,000 kilowatt atomic-power plant could be built in the eastern part of the United States for about $25 million, as compared with $10 million for a similar power plant using coal.

2. The electric power produced would cost approximately .8 cents per kilowatt hour to produce, compared with .65 cents for coal-produced power.

3. It is likely that further research will result in cheaper atomic-produced electricity, while the long-term trend in coal prices is upward.

4. Other advantages of atomic plants include greater possibility for industry decentralization; the production of valuable radioactive isotopes for medical uses; the nuclear power plant could be used in isolated sections of the world where coal and oil are not available or expensive.

At this writing, the Scientific and Technical Committee of the UN Atomic Energy Commission is working on the final draft of its report on the process involved in the production of atomic energy. From all accounts, there appears to be unanimity among the committee members. While the differences between the American and Soviet views concerning international control of atomic energy still exist, it is hopeful to remember that the Acheson-Lilienthal committee did not reach its major conclusions until it had found agreement in the early, technical stages.

"Experience Needed"

Andrei Vishinsky last week argued against holding the UN General Assembly meeting on September 23 as scheduled. In asking for a November meeting in Paris or Geneva, he brought up the argument that the Russians, as well as the Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians and White Russians, did not have the trained personnel to attend two world conferences at the same time.

His argument emphasizes the point that the slowness, the lack of finesse and the sharp crises and misunderstandings during the past year often have arisen because of pure amateurishness on the part of the two main participants, the United States and the Soviet Union. Both nations, newly emerged from isolationism, are confronting problems and responsibilities almost new to them. Both are short of diplomats and statesmen with training, information and the habit of thinking in world terms.

The British Labor Party faces the same lack of thoroughly experienced persons in its Foreign Office. What experience there is is largely hostile to the liberal Labor outlook. The personality of Ernest Bevin, who runs his department much as he did the Transport Workers, hasn't helped either.

Hot words, propagandistic speeches and naïve suspicions by diplomats dealing amateurishly with confused policies have added at least a part to the dismal diplomatic total since V-E Day.

Steel Goes Overseas

Steel reinforcing bars are the heart of concrete structures such as apartment houses, hospitals, highways, dams and bridges. Current production of these bars is 65,000 tons a month and is expected to reach 100,000 tons a month by January, 1947—a good record considering reconversion difficulties and the steel strike. However, production for the first six months of 1946 was only 394,235 tons compared with 1,214,202 tons during the full year of 1939.

Current need for steel reinforcing rods far exceeds the supply. The Interior Department found that it was unable to obtain them in the quantities needed for speedy completion of the Grand Coulee and the concrete tunnels, canal walls and other items involved in the Department's current land-reclamation and power program.

Spokesmen for the private building industry state that 100 percent of current production is needed in domestic construction of large apartment houses and in other work incidental to meeting the demand for housing.

But while government and private builders combed the nation's steel mills, the Department of Commerce reported that the industry exported 23.75 percent of its output during the first six months of 1946. This com-

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pared with exports of only 4.4 percent during the same period of 1939.

Exports, which were not under government control, were channeled to European nations which formerly had been supplied by Belgium and adjacent areas. In July France received more than 2,000 tons of steel bars to become the second highest export customer. Reports that the steel industry was planning to increase exports during August to 7,500 tons to France, 7,000 to the Netherlands, 1,000 to Norway and 2,000 to Italy brought protests that the steel makers were sacrificing American reconversion to the establishment of a strong position in the export market and the high prices for steel in foreign markets.

This week, more than a year after V-J Day, a federal inter-agency committee agreed to place reinforcing steel bars under export controls, and began studying the question of quotas. This action certainly is long overdue. Steel exports as part of a government overseas reconstruction program are one thing. Private shipments to seek out new markets at boom prices at the expense of American reconversion are another.

The Maritime Strike

THE MOST BASIC CAUSE of the maritime strike is the fact that the industry has never been unified in its labor relations. This is the result of the divide-and-conquer attitude of the shipping companies and the failure of the War Shipping Administration and Maritime Commission to achieve a unified labor-management pattern during the wartime period of government ownership. The government owns most of the ships, but under its policy of letting the shipping companies operate them the companies have continued to resist the logical step of nationwide collective bargaining.

There seems to be little doubt that the operators of the AFL-manned ships were almost eager to give Harry Lundeberg's Sailors' Union of the Pacific and John Hawk's International Seafarer's Union better terms than the CIO National Maritime Union had won last June. The AFL unions got wage increases of $5 and $10 a month more than the CIO.

The Wage Stabilization Board took about two months to act on the AFL agreements. These agreements were completed two or three weeks after the CIO crisis was resolved on June 15. WSB action on the AFL contracts did not come until August 23, however.

The WSB action disapproving the contracts to the extent that they exceeded the NMU rates obviously put Lundeberg on the spot. AFL men contend that Lundeberg's union has generally had better contracts than the younger NMU; hence that a better result was justified. Lundeberg and Hawk protested the decisions and appealed for a rehearing and reversal, and at the same time set a strike for midnight of September 4. The WSB didn't act until the afternoon of September 3. By that time, the waterfront walkout had already started, because the very nature of waterfront operations causes action on a walkout to spread for many hours on either side of a deadline.

Thus there appear to have been errors of judgment and timing all along the line. Still the catastrophic shutdown highlights several major problems which should be studied and acted upon if we are ever to have a national maritime labor policy that makes sense.

The greatest need is for a uniform approach to the industry's wage problem. Secretary Schwellenbach is known to favor a program aimed at this goal. But the Kilkenny-cat attitudes of the AFL and CIO maritime unions, further complicated by the anti-Truman Administration attitudes of the left-wing elements in the CIO, makes such a program difficult to put across. The operators—even as "agents" for the government's ships—can be counted upon to resist any unified approach in the hope of preserving the chaotic conditions which enable them to jockey one set of unions against the other.

On July 1, when the OPA went into eclipse, Secretary Schwellenbach urged unions to hold off demands for "second-round" wage increases and strikes until the cost-of-living increase could be measured and analyzed. The Administration has taken the attitude that a few more months of full production would ease inflationary pressures, and perhaps end the need for most of the wartime wage and price controls.

We have had three full months of such production, uninterrupted by important strikes. The Bureau of Labor Statistics consumer-price index bounced high in OPA-less July and went upward more gradually in August. Now the Administration's effort is to carry on for two or three more months, to give the economy an opportunity to meet the challenge to produce. The AFL tieup, and the one threatened by Harry Bridges' CIO longshoremen in early October, can defeat this effort.

Another serious consideration brought out by this situation is the plight of the ordinary family under present conditions. Factory weekly wages are down several percent compared with a year ago, although hourly rates are higher. This means that, compared with the cost of living, the real income of most industrial workers' families is down—perhaps 15 percent, perhaps more.

The relative full employment which we have experienced through the summer offsets part of this loss. Obviously, however, a further drastic increase in prices will lead to a disastrous second round of strikes, probably early in the spring of 1947, unless full production puts a halt to the present price trend.

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Washington Wire—Grass Roots Reports

THERE's a slight mist in our crystal ball this week and we can't say who will win the 1946 and 1948 elections. But there is a surprising unanimity in current Washington beliefs as to the prospects. There is a general feeling that a conservative trend is running. Explanations vary. Strikes, Russia—but more particularly a deep desire for change. Vacation trips have brought back widespread beliefs here that nearly everybody is better off today in America than ever before, and nearly everybody is discontented. In addition, Truman's administration is widely summarized as well meaning but weak.

Under these conditions there exists a widespread conversational assumption that the Republicans will make gains in Congress this fall. Also, that Harry Truman will be defeated in 1948. (He probably can have his old job back in the Senate again, if he wants it.) Reporters aren't going to commit themselves to this yet, in so many words, but they would expect the foregoing political developments, as things stand. Starting with these postulates, the typical Washington conversation raises the question of how big the Republican vote will be, and particularly whether they'll capture the House, or even the Senate. Also, not whether Truman will be defeated in 1948, but who will be the GOP nominee. Will it be Vandenberg (he's pretty old), Dewey (he's had one try), Taft (he's an isolationist)? Or will it be some dark horse? Well, that's what Washington political conversation turns on at this moment of writing.

Every day the Civil Rights Section of the Justice Department receives complaints of violations of personal rights. In most cases the government can't act. Why? Largely because the statutory basis on which the federal government may intervene is uncertain and tenuous. It is the old issue of state rights; it is the feature of our government hardest for foreigners to understand. There are just two brief sections of the criminal code, and an anti-peonage clause, which constitute the entire legal authority under which the federal government can act. For many years these sections were neglected, almost forgotten. They were revived under Roosevelt in 1939, when the Civil Rights Section was created.

Even today with careful and efficient investigation by the FBI every intervention by the Civil Rights Section is still as much a test of law as it is a test of power to gain a conviction. The coverage of the governing sections of the criminal code has been pushed back and extended in seven years, but the simple fact is, any way you look at it, the statutory thread of law is too thin to permit adequate enforcement of those thundering civil rights set forth under the Constitution. Suppose a mob lynches a man. The federal government, theoretically, can't intervene unless it can prove that an officer in some way played a part in the mob action.

A restrained statement of this paradox has just been made by Theron Caudle of the Civil Rights Section. The Section is preparing a statement of the whole situation and an outline of its experience for presentation to the next Congress. It will ask for new legislation and show why existing statutes are too narrow. Will Congress promptly pass such legislation? Not if we know it. But it is our guess that this will be one of the great battlegrounds of the future and that the demand for stronger civil rights legislation may create more furore and ultimately, perhaps, attract wider legislative support than even the FEPC or the anti-poll-tax reforms.

Congressmen and reporters keep waking up to new aspects of the La Follette-Monroney stream lining bill. Some brutal little tussles have already begun as to the chairmen of the reduced number of committees. The Senate, for example, theoretically cuts committees from 33 to 15. The question is which of two entrenched satraps gets the new satrapy. Then there's the matter of lobbyists. In a single clause the new law tells all lobbyists to go register: to list employers, income and expenditures. It is hard to think of any other simple little command so calculated to cause grief and anguish to an entire profession, or so likely to change the Washington scene. Secretary of the Senate Leslie Biffle and Clerk of the House South Trimble are supposed to see to the registration. They aren't too enthusiastic about the law and the law isn't too specific, either, about what constitutes a "lobbyist." But that doesn't alter the duty of registering.

Finally, elderly Congressmen are quietly discovering that the big, fat pensions they have voted themselves make it a lot easier to quit. Senator Gerry (D, R. I.), is leaving the Senate. With his accumulated years and service he can put $2,700 into the new system and draw out $5,146 annually for the rest of his life. Gerry, as it happens, is a rich man and doesn't need the cash, but there it is. A lot of people hope against hope that this pension bait will draw certain elderly and somnolent statesmen, who automatically gravitate into committee chairmanships under seniority, into remunerative retirement. That would give the nation a younger Congress.

Notes.—Favorite headline of the week department (from the New York *Daily News*): "Great Brain Stubs Toe." . . . The Democrats sometimes seem to be running FDR for reëlection, not Truman; thus again at Albany Roosevelt was featured in all the speeches, Truman made a poor second. . . . The GOP is also creating its own Zombie campaign; National Chairman Carroll Reece charges the Administration works for the "destruction of free government," is "un-American," is made up of "allied-minded radicals" and includes "subversionist rats." . . . One party is running a dead man, the other dead issues. . . . America is ending UNRRA with the new year; a dubious Christmas present to the world.

Washington T. R. B.

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Political Roundup—Democratic Campaign

THE Democratic National Committee is putting on the best off-year election show in the memory of most New Dealers. Publicity Director Sam O'Neal and the staff he has assembled are largely responsible for the vigorous and hopeful spirit that prevails in the committee's Mayflower Hotel headquarters these days. Candidates are reporting more and better support from headquarters than in the past. Hannegan and O'Neal have recognized the special importance of the women's vote this year and are giving the Women's Division of the committee copies of the 100-page handbook, "Campaign Issues—1946," which will be off the press next week.

Truman will definitely do some campaigning around the country, but Henry Wallace will almost certainly do a great deal more. He will go into 40 congressional districts as a probable minimum and concentrate heavily on Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Washington as well as on Ohio and Illinois.

Nevada. – Representative Berkeley Bunker's victory over Senator Carville in the Democratic primary practically assures him of election in November. Both Bunker and Democratic Governor Vail Pittman, who won renomination, were supported by the Nevada Legislative Council, the joint-political-action organization of the AFL, the CIO and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. The Legislative Council demonstrated its non-partisanship by also supporting a Republican, Charles Russell, said to be liberal and pro-labor, for Representative-at-large.

Utah. – Democrats here are very cheerful. Senator Abe Murdock and Representative J. W. Robinson are almost certain of reëlection. Representative Granger's chances are only slightly less good, although his opponent, former Republican State Chairman Dave Wilson, is strong in his home town of Ogden, Utah's second largest city, and is well known throughout the state. Progressives in Utah feel that their state will continue to be liberal and Democratic through 1948 under the leadership of their newly elected Democratic state chairman, Clinton Vernon, and their excellent executive secretary, Val Coles.

Western Teamwork. – Plans are being discussed for a big joint campaign on behalf of senatorial candidates Ericson, Donert and Mitchell in Montana, Idaho and Washington. The senior Democratic Senators from these three states—Murray, Taylor and Magnuson—would appear jointly in all three states, stress the importance of Western development in the next few years and show what a team of six Senators committed to the same policies could accomplish for the region.

Pennsylvania. – It is a safe bet that President Truman will visit Pennsylvania on his campaign trip. Democrats are likely to have a terrifically hard fight there. The Democratic State Committee is taking comfort from the fact that even after a very intensive registration drive, the Republican majority in the eastern part of the state is running no more than the usual 800,000, and a great deal less in western areas where the Democrats have taken over during the New Deal years.

The Democratic registration drive is now reaching its height. Senator Joe Guffey's fate depends on how high it goes. Despite all adverse signs, leaders do not believe that the voters will ignore the superlatively fine progressive record of Joe Guffey in favor of the rotten record Governor Martin, his opponent, has to offer.

Democrats are hopeful of taking at least four congressional seats now held by Republicans, two in the Pittsburgh area, plus Johnstown and Swarthmore. Tom Ownes, union publisher of Cambria County, is trying hard for the 26th District seat now held by Republican Harve Tibbott. And Vernon O'Rourke, a young Swarthmore College professor and a veteran, is given an excellent chance of winning in the 7th District. But all these gains and more could be offset by the congressional losses many consider likely in Philadelphia alone.

Wisconsin. – Representative Andy Biemiller is up against a real fight for his 5th District seat. Former Assistant County Attorney Charles Kersten, his opponent, is having some trouble, however, explaining the $10,000 his political club admits to having spent on his behalf in the primary, an unheard-of sum for a Wisconsin campaign. Kersten is conducting a refined sort of Red-baiting drive on Biemiller which is already being labeled nonsensical by those who know the candidate.

With Senator Bob La Follette out of the picture, Democrats feel increasingly confident of electing Howard McMurray to the Senate and five new members to the House, in addition to holding the 4th and 5th District seats Democrats now occupy. Hank Berquist, a young veteran, is given a good chance to take the 10th District for the Democrats even by Republicans who are fed up with O'Konski.

The Republican senatorial candidate, Circuit Judge Joseph McCarthy, has been taken into court on a constitutional challenge. The Wisconsin state constitution prohibits a circuit judge from running for any other office. McCarthy argues that the constitutional provision does not cover federal offices. It is not likely that this controversy will be settled before it reaches the Supreme Court, and this is unlikely to happen before the November elections. But if by some chance there should be an early ruling against McCarthy, La Follette would be back in the picture.

Virginia. – Progressives are delighted that Representative Howard Smith failed to capture the Democratic nomination to fill out the late Carter Glass's unexpired term in the Senate. But the man the Democratic convention did pick is certainly nothing to cheer about. Representative Willis Robertson, the nominee, is reactionary enough to please even Harry Byrd, whose views on taxation and "economy" he shares. But Robertson can't be as bad as Smith would have been.

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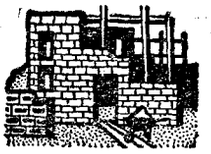

Facts About Housing

THE TROUBLE which veterans and other people are having to find decent living quarters for what they can afford to pay could be reduced if real-estate interests did not want large profits, if all contractors and suppliers of materials were honest, if public officials were all efficient, if there were no black markets and no strikes. But behind all these surface troubles there looms the basic fact that the supply of dwelling places is far less than the demand for them. If there were many vacancies, most of the other obstacles would vanish. What we are most interested in knowing is how fast the supply of housing is being increased, what caused the shortage, and whether everything possible is being done to end it.

How Many Houses Have Been Built?

The immediate goal of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program is to start 1.2 million dwelling units in 1946. Of these, nearly 500,000, or more than two-fifths, were begun in the first six months of the year. Since the volume of building is increasing, the goal may be realized.

Between January 1 and June 30, 225,000 homes were completed. The number completed each month has been greater than in the preceding one. Those finished in June were 75 percent more than those finished in January.

Most of the new dwelling units planned, as well as most of those completed, are of the conventional types. Temporary housing accounts for about one-fifth of the total, conversions of old buildings for about one-twelfth of it, and trailers for a minor fraction. Prefabricated houses, which may be important in the long run, have scarcely made a start.

How Does This Compare with the Need?

Everyone knows that even if the 1946 program is completed on time, there will still be a severe shortage. In order to estimate the need for housing for purposes of a building program, it is necessary to look into the future. The National Housing Agency has made such an estimate for the year 1955, taking into account the expected growth of population. In that year 38,732,000 dwelling units will be required. Before the start of the program there existed 26,088,000. The difference, which should be built within 10 years, is 12,644,000. If we succeed in building the 1.2 million planned for 1946, we shall thus have fulfilled one-tenth of the need. If the same number are built in each of the nine succeeding years, it will take the supply a decade to catch up with the requirements. The faster the program can be expanded, the more quickly the shortage will end.

A little less than one-third of the new dwelling units needed by the whole population will have to rent for under $20 a month. Somewhat more than one-third will have to rent for $20 to $39 a month. The rest can rent for $40 or more. As one goes up the scale, the need rapidly decreases. Only about one-tenth of the total should be in the rental bracket of $50 to $75, while not much more than one-twentieth can rent for $75 or more. These figures are in terms of 1940 prices; if rents and incomes rise they would be correspondingly increased.

This distribution of need shows the importance of keeping building costs down and using a large proportion of labor and materials for low-cost housing. If the job were left to uncontrolled private enterprise, the demands of those with the highest incomes would be met first and the needs of those with the lowest incomes would probably not be filled at all.

How Much Can Veterans Afford to Pay?

It is estimated by a War Department survey that 32 percent of the veterans cannot afford to pay more than $30 a month if they buy a home, and that 34 percent cannot afford to pay more than $30 rent. Home payments of $30 to $49 a month can be afforded by 54 percent of the veterans, and rentals of the same amount by 55 percent. Only 14 percent can make monthly payments of over $50, and only 11 percent can pay $50 rent.

This shows the necessity for price and rent control, public-housing projects and greater efficiency in building.

Old Houses and Needed Repairs

If we built all the new houses necessary to make up the shortage, we should be far from completing the job. Many old houses will become uninhabitable in the meantime. Nearly 12 percent of the non-farm dwelling units in existence in 1940 were 50 or more years old. Few were sturdy colonial structures remodeled by country gentlemen. Another 10 percent were between 40 and 50 years old.

Of all the non-farm houses in existence in 1945, 10 percent needed major repairs, 11.3 percent lacked private flush toilets and private baths, and another 9.3 percent did not even have running water and plumbing. Thus about 30 percent did not meet the most elementary modern standards. On farms, modern facilities are even scarcer.

Thus we should not think that the most rapid possible emergency-building program would end our use for the construction industry as soon as the shortage of homes was made up. If we were to clear our slums and provide decent and pleasant living places for every American family, it would keep the builders busy for decades. In addition there are the industrial, commercial and public requirements.

Why Such a Housing Shortage?

During the war very few houses were built because we needed the men and materials for more urgent purposes. But the shortage had been accumulating for years before that. Back in 1925 the peak of dwelling construction was reached after the First World War. After that, home building steadily fell off even though the needs of lower-income families were far from being supplied. The lower third simply could not afford to buy or rent new houses. In the depression of the thirties construction fell even further. Less than 100,000 dwelling units were built in 1933, as against nearly a million in 1925. Then building recovered, but never again got back to the 1925 level: the top of 700,000 dwelling units was reached in 1941. Meanwhile the old tenements were getting older and in greater need of repair.

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Are We Doing As Well As After World War I?

In 1919 new residential construction was 72 percent greater than in 1918, the last year of the war. In 1920 home building actually declined because of inflation and high costs. There was a gain of 41 percent in 1921 and a further gain of 78 percent in 1922. In all these years veterans had no preference over others in buying or renting the available houses, and prices were not controlled. The Veterans' Housing Program for 1946 will, if fulfilled, constitute a gain of 356 percent over 1945, and the program for 1947 calls for another 70-percent increase. Prices and rents are controlled and veterans have priority. The program for 1946 calls for more houses than were ever built before in one year; that for 1947 is even greater.

Have Strikes Interfered with Construction?

The steel and coal strikes retarded construction somewhat this spring. During June strikes did not seriously affect production of critical building materials except gypsum, asbestos and insulating materials, when about 10 percent of the workers were out. Only about one percent of all workers in material industries were on strike in June. By the end of June the number of building-trades workers on strike was approximately 7,000. Most of these strikes have been settled and the industry is now virtually free of labor stoppages. Both the AFL and the CIO have agreed to render every possible aid to rapid construction.

How About Price Control and Black Markets?

Black markets have diverted much material from the Veterans' Building Program, but the government is using every means to end them. In June it proceeded against 40 lumber companies in the West for over-ceiling sales of 65,469,000 board-feet of lumber, enough to build 6,500 homes. There have been several hundred other cases involving smaller amounts.

The greatest setback the program has received was the result of the fight in Congress against price control and the temporary suspension of the OPA after June 30. Builders naturally hesitated to expand their operations with prices skyrocketing and uncertainty about future costs. The major delay must therefore be attributed by veterans to selfish pressure-groups and the congressmen they control. If they had succeeded, the housing program would have been blasted as flat as Hiroshima. There is hope, however, that the renewal of price control will permit the goal to be reached. The greatest danger now is that the rises in the cost of living which Congress has forced the OPA to permit will cause more labor trouble and intensify real-estate speculation.

How Serious Are Material Shortages?

In spite of the fact that production of all housing materials has been increasing and every effort has been made to stimulate output, the enormous demand has run ahead of the supply in numerous lines. Shortages of one or two essentials may delay the work on a whole house. Average construction time has been six months or more against a normal three or four, because of such bottlenecks. Yet improvement is being shown. Brick production jumped 11 percent in June and 17 percent in July. Steady gains have been registered in lumber, sewer pipe, insulation board, cedar shingles, asphalt roofing, cement, bathtubs, nails, etc. In June declines occurred in articles made from iron and steel, such as plumbing fixtures and heating equipment.

The Government and Shortages

The government has used increasingly stringent measures to make sure that sufficient materials would be devoted to building and that the Veterans' Housing Program would have precedence over commercial structures and other housing. Non-housing construction has been progressively limited since the beginning of the year, and another 27-percent cut in it will be made effective on September 1. Fifty-seven critical materials are now subject to housing priorities. In addition, dealers and distributors of building materials in short supply must set aside for priority order at least 75 percent of all shipments they receive. Whereas previously such set-aside material had to be held only from three weeks to a month before being sold without priority, it must now be held indefinitely.

Further measures to channel materials to veterans' housing are in prospect. Enforcement of regulations on builders and suppliers is being tightened.

Housing and the National Economy

A large volume of building is important not only for those who need housing, but for sustaining the national economy at a high level. Long after the backlogs of demand for automobiles and other goods are filled, a continuation of building would help to stave off a depression.

Of all consumer expenditures, 28.8 percent went, in 1930-39, for household rent and operation. Of the 1939 gross national product nearly 20 percent consisted of housing construction, rent and cash expenses of ownership and operation. The total of industrial production usually begins to fall soon after housing construction starts to decline, and rises when housing construction is on the upgrade. A long-term, adequate housing program could be the strongest possible proof of continual full employment and an expanding economy.

We cannot, however, rely on private speculative building to follow through such a program, because it first satisfies the need of the upper income groups and then slacks off when the supply of high-cost housing becomes greater than the demand. The experience of 1940 is illuminating here. The non-farm dwelling units, started in that year to rent for $50 and over, were more than enough to satisfy the average yearly demand estimated for 1946-55. The homes started in 1940 to rent between $40 and $50 were sufficient to satisfy only about half the demand in that rental bracket. For lower rentals, the number started comprised smaller and smaller fractions of the estimated demand.

We shall not have enough and good enough houses in the long run without some such provisions as those of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft general housing bill, which Congress failed to pass in the last session. Better means of financing alone can save 10 to 20 percent in the cost of rent. Large-scale planning and more efficient methods can further reduce costs. Redevelopment of slum and blighted areas can further reduce the cost of decent housing, save money for the cities, improve their health and beauty and help maintain national prosperity.

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Who Will Win in November?

by Louis Bean

THE NEW DEAL political tide has receded so far from its 1936 peak that a loss next November of only 26 Democratic seats in the House and 10 in the Senate would give complete legislative control to the Republicans. What is the loss, if any, likely to be?

The primary elections so far give us no real clues. Here and there they indicate that progressive candidates and veterans run better among Democrats than progressives do among Republicans. They also indicate greater participation than in 1942, but very little as to the balance between the two major parties. If we want something more than the Republican prediction that the Democrats will lose control of both Houses, and the Democratic prediction that the Republicans will make few, if any, gains, we must fall back on a reading of the recent record. An understanding of what major factors have brought New Deal strength in Congress down from a Democratic share of 79 percent of the seats in 1936 to only 55 percent at present will help to assess the probable outcome.

MID-TERM ELECTION TRENDS

At the risk of oversimplification, it may be said that the trend in mid-term elections has been shaped by four factors—unemployment, participation, the President's "coattail" and traditional voting. Other powerful factors will be the voters' response to rising prices and to falling hopes for peace. But the probable effects of domestic economic and international political issues on the election are not measurable, and their appraisal must be left to the reader's own judgment.

It was increased unemployment in 1938 which turned the New Deal political swing down from the 1936 peak. Just as mounting unemployment in 1930-32 and the New Deal recovery measures gave Democrats 79 percent of Congress by 1936—maximum control in 80 years—so the sharp business recession and increased unemployment in 1937-38 gave the Republicans their first gain of 80 seats and reduced the Democratic share to 61 percent. The elections since 1938 have all been marked by reductions in unemployment, and since it is not generally expected, despite the recent break in the stock market, that the present postwar boom will end before November, the effect of current relatively small unemployment will not be decisive.

The effect of reduced participation in mid-term elections can best be illustrated by the second major recession in the New Deal tide, which came in 1942. The Democrats in the presidential election of 1940 had maintained their position in Congress while they lost ground in the popular vote for President, indicating that the third term and isolationist issues in 1940 influenced the vote for congressmen less than for the President. But in the 1942 election the Republicans picked up 47 seats. Voters in both parties were apathetic in that first wartime election. Seven million fewer Republicans voted in 1942 than in 1940, but 11 million fewer Democrats turned out. This cost them a substantial part of the 47 seats and they nearly lost the House, for their percentage sank to 51.5.

The presidential election of 1944, with its larger turnout, took 19 seats away from the Republicans, and the Democratic share of House seats rose to 56 percent, but these results understate somewhat the Democratic strength in 1944. They might have fared even better had the 1944 turnout not fallen short by six or seven million votes because of the large number of young men and women in the armed services and many displaced voters who migrated to war-industry centers. The 1946 turnout is not likely to be affected by any such political apathy as that of 1942, for the war is over and there will be some effort to get out the vote.

The power of the President's "coattail" undoubtedly shows up in the larger turnout in presidential election years and in more congressmen of the President's party being elected than in off-years. Judging from the experience of the nine elections from 1928 to 1944, the effect of a presidential candidate in the field is to make it easier for the party in power to elect an additional five percent of the congressmen, or about 20 to 25 seats. In 1946 the Democrats, of course, do not have that advantage.

THE PROSPECTS FOR 1946

What kind of turnout would one normally expect in 1946? Those who look to the 1944 record should note that the 1944 vote of 45 million was six or seven million short because of the war. With a vote of 51 or 52 million, the Democratic share would probably have been about one percent greater, and this might have meant 10 or 12 more Democrats in Congress.

If 1946 were a presidential year, there would normally be about 53 million votes cast for congressmen and 55 million for President. But in off-years the vote for congressmen can fall to 70 percent of normal, as in 1930, to about 80 percent of normal, as in 1934 and 1938, or to about 60 percent, as in 1942. Taking the

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Louis Bean, an economist with the Bureau of the Budget, is the author of Ballot Behavior, *a study of presidential elections. He is a frequent contributor to the* New Republic.

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1936 and 1938 experience as more typical, an 80-percent turnout this year would mean about 42 million votes, which, allowing for non-participating voters still in the services and workers not yet relocated to their permanent voting residences, would be reduced to between 40 and 41 million. This number of voters, probably divided about evenly between Democrats and Republicans, could elect about as many Democratic congressmen as were elected in 1942—say about 52 percent of the total, or 15 seats less than in 1944. It is possible that the 80-percent assumption based on 1934 and 1938, both years of substantial unemployment, is too low for a full-employment year like 1946. An 85-percent participation, or 45 million votes, would suggest practically no loss in Democratic seats.

The last four elections suggest an increasing tendency toward traditional voting, and thus a narrowing of the task of appraising the political trend. Traditional voting in the South shows up in the fact that the South elected 128 Democratic congressmen in 1938 and 1940, 125 in 1942 and 128 in 1944. The Republicans elected only five, four, ten and seven in these same elections.

It is therefore in the Northern states—the New England, Middle Atlantic and the East and West North Central states—that the congressional election battle will mainly center this year. This area holds the balance of about 250 seats, but even here there is evidence of traditional voting, both in the Democratic metropolitan centers and the rural Republican districts. For the 10 largest cities, with population in excess of 650,000, where, on the average, three to four Democratic congressmen are elected for every Republican, the record is as follows:

CONGRESSMEN ELECTED IN THE TEN LARGEST CITIES

Year	*Democrats*	*Republicans*	*Total*
1938	58	16	74
1940	60	14	74
1942	56	18	74
1944	59	14	73

These records of traditional voting make plausible the Democratic claims of a sufficient number of rock-bottom seats as a guarantee against their losing the House as they did in 1920, the first election after World War I. By combining the number of congressmen elected in the Southern and Western states and those elected in nine of the largest cities, we obtain the following relatively stable results:

CONGRESSMEN ELECTED IN THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES AND IN THE NINE LARGEST CITIES

Year	*Democrats*	*Republicans*	*Total*
1938	211	33	244
1940	211	30	241
1942	201	48	249
1944	210	38	248

If there is no greater shifting of seats in these areas than occurred during the 1938-44 elections, the Democrats would be assured of a minimum of 201 seats, and they would need to pick up only 17 more outside the metropolitan areas of the Northern states to make sure of maintaining control of the House.

The prospect that the political shift this fall may be largely localized in the Northern states may be inferred from another approach. Assuming that this is essentially a typical off-year election with no major factors shaping the results other than the size of the vote and lack of advantage of a presidential candidate in the field, the most likely loss in the Democratic share in the popular vote is one to three percent. The 243 Democratic Representatives elected in 1944, or 56 percent of the total, were elected by a Democratic popular vote of 52 percent. How many Democratic seats are endangered if a general shift of one percent were to take place? Of the 243 elected in 1944:

54 had no opposition
66 received 70 to 100 percent of the vote
50 received 60 to 70 percent of the vote
41 received 55 to 60 percent of the vote
12 received 53 to 55 percent of the vote
30 received 50 to 53 percent of the vote

It is the 30 Democratic seats that were obtained by the narrow vote of between 50 and 53 percent that appear to be the battleground this year. A one-percent shift in the 1944 results would have eliminated 11 of the Democratic Representatives. A two-percent shift would have eliminated another nine, and a three-percent shift another ten. For the Republicans to capture 26 seats and control of the House, a shift of at least 2.5 percent would be necessary.

These 30 marginal Democratic seats are concentrated in the Northeast and only four are in the West—California and Washington. The rest are in states north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Illinois supplied four of these marginal seats; Ohio and Connecticut three each; New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Missouri and Minnesota two each; and Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Michigan one each.

There were, of course, about as many Republican seats (34) won by a narrow margin of 50 to 53 percent of the vote. Among these also, a shift of one percent in the popular vote would have meant a loss of 11 to 12 seats. In an off-year election, however, with the Democrats in power, the Republican marginal seats, although not invulnerable, have a greater degree of security than those of the Democrats. It is unfortunate that the nationally known polling services have not, so far, supplied the public with information as to the current attitude of voters toward congressmen and their voting intentions.

To assume that this may be only a normal mid-term election, and to conclude from the foregoing facts that

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the Democrats may lose a few marginal seats, but not enough to lose control of the House, may be quite misleading. What about the issues? How are voters likely to deal with their congressmen for allowing the cost of living to mount so rapidly this year? How are they likely to deal with them as a result of voter reaction to international developments? Individual judgment on these points, of course, will vary widely.

If the dominant international issue in the voter's mind is the relationship with Russia and anxiety over peace prospects, it is conceivable that it may not have much observable influence on the election. Some Midwestern voters may approve, and some metropolitan voters may disapprove, of the so-called firmer attitude being taken by the United States in the peace negotiations. But on the central domestic issue—the rise in prices—it would seem that the Democrats have an advantage over the Republicans, if consumers blame the congressmen who voted against the OPA. Of the 34 marginal Republican congressmen, 29 voted against price control, whereas of the 34 marginal Democratic congressmen, 29 voted for price control.

In summary, the political prospects may be telescoped down to these possibilities: Of the 30 marginal Democratic seats that might go Republican, perhaps as many as 10 could be prevented from doing so should the veterans and war workers turn out in greater force than in 1944. Some of the 34 marginal Republican seats may be lost if consumers are pricked by price rises to vote against Republicans who helped kill the OPA. Therefore it is possible that the Eightieth Congress will be controlled by the Democrats.

Yugoslavia Today: II

by Bogdan Raditsa

In my first article I tried to describe as objectively as possible the efforts made by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to establish a Communist dictatorship throughout the country. I said that it was not my intention to muddy the already troubled waters between Yugoslavia and the United States. I want to repeat that now. But I feel that I must say what I have to say because I know that the peoples of Yugoslavia want me to say it. For the great majority of the Yugoslav peoples are outside of the Communist state and have not as yet yielded to the terrific Communist pressure. The best proof for this statement is, perhaps, the following speech by Milovan Gjilas, the most radical Communist leader, made in the summer of 1945:

> In most parts of our country the peasant problem is not handled correctly. . . . Take . . . Croatia. There the National Front is supported by only a part of the peasantry. The other part, under Macek's influence, is not in the Front. Why? Is it reactionary? No, it is our political action that is bad there. The peasants are healthy, progressive and revolutionary. We have not as yet found a form of political action to bridge the gap between peasantry and working class. We have not yet found a way to liberate the peasantry from the influence of Macek's reactionary bands which exploit the traditions and aspirations of these peoples. The same situation exists in Serbia. . . .

I had the same impression while traveling through Yugoslavia. I felt in Croatia and Serbia that the peasants were very reluctant to say anything about the new state. They were silent and afraid. They were puzzled about not finding their familiar leaders with them. I was asked everywhere about Dr. Macek; I felt everywhere the lack of real contact between the new authorities and the peasants. The Communists fear the peasants and the peasants are afraid of the Communists. As Dr. Jovanovic, the Serbian peasant leader, said in the speech for which he was ousted from office: "The peasants are the problem of this country. The peasants are dangerously silent. The Communist Party leaders are talking about collectivization and *kolkhozes*, but the peasants hate those things." This, I believe, is the reason why the peasants have not yet been touched. The Communists started with the peasants, but they found too much resistance. There are hundreds of villages in Croatia and Serbia in which the Communists do not dare to walk out into the night.

The Middle Classes and the Church

It is the turn of the middle classes now. The constitution guarantees private property, but property owners are called before special courts and accused of collaboration with the fascists. In the beginning, it is true, only real collaborators were tried. But later on it was enough just to be an industrialist or shopkeeper to be suspect. Those who have been condemned are not only stripped of their property, but they are sent to concentration camps and lose their citizenship rights. Some of the owners were not even in the country during the war, but the fact that their business went on is considered sufficient. Many gave their property to the state and were spared, to be condemned later.

Bogdan Raditsa left his position as chief of the information services of the Royal Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in 1943 and supported the republican Subasich government in 1944. He was chief of the foreign-press department of the Ministry of Information under Tito, and left Yugoslavia late in 1945.

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The Communists do not attack the Church as an institution, rather they attack its leaders. It is true that many Catholic priests participated in the persecution of the Serb minority in Croatia. But while the Church thinks that about 30 priests were responsible, the Communists have executed several hundred. It is equally true, however, that other priests saved hundreds of lives. The Bishop of Zagreb, for instance, Monsignor Stepinec, saved approximately 400 children from certain death. He is now called a fascist and collaborator because he is the most outstanding Croatian opponent of communism. When the first Pastoral Bishops' Letter, critical of the Communists, was read in most Catholic churches one Sunday morning, the people finally learned what the Church thought of the Tito regime.

Communist Tactics

Liberals and democrats fear a resurrection of clericalism, and with good reason. But when they discuss this with the Communists, they find that the latter are not worried, for they anticipate the result "scientifically." Every action, they say, has its reaction. As they know that the majority of the people cannot accept communism, they prefer them to go in the opposite direction. For this, they believe, will more rapidly bring the country toward their goal. What they do not like is a compromise with the liberals and democrats, whom they consider their real enemies.

The Communists knew from the beginning that they were a minority in the country. They created the National Liberation Front as a "genuine expression" of the people's will, but control of the Front and through it of the state was their primary aim. During the war they accepted other political parties into the Front, but after liberation Tito declared, in his statement of November 12, 1944, that there was no need any longer for political parties because "the Russians are here with us in Yugoslavia." They pretend, therefore, that the refusal of the leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party, the Serbian Democratic Party or the Serbian Radical Party to work with the Communists is not shared by the masses who accepted the Front's appeal to rise in arms for the liberation of the country.

The present situation proves that the CP never wanted to coöperate on an equal basis with the other political parties. What parties work in the Front today are rump-parties which go along with the CP but do not really share power. The myth that the Front represents the people's will and must be saved by any means is propagated without end. The party tries to remain anonymous, a symbol, a myth. The party, so the propaganda line goes, has won the people through war and liberation, now it must educate the people, it must make them strong to fight fascism and Western reaction. The world is full of enemies of the party and of the people, of Soviet Russia and the Yugoslav Peoples' Republic.

But in reality the people are not with the Front any longer, and they are certainly not with the CP. The masses which participated in the war of liberation were mostly peasants, intellectuals and middle-class patriots. Politically they belonged to the old parties. Few were Communists. As a matter of fact, the working class was far from being a vital factor in the resistance, as the Communists allege in their propaganda. For the workers remained in the big-city factories or were sent into Hitler's labor camps.

I traveled through Dalmatia, Croatia, Lika, Banja and Kordun, where many battles had been fought. I did not find a single house standing in which I could sleep. There were only small huts inhabited by women and children. No villages are left, and the men are gone. The fighters were peasants, not Communists. They fought under Communist leadership, but their aim was a better life, federalism, democracy and a republic. The peasants supported the Partisans without ever asking what communism is. And now, instead of the better life, they find themselves involved in a doctrine which they cannot understand. They have waited for freedom for decades, and now they are discovering that freedom exists only for a minority.

Foreign Policy

From the beginning of the war of liberation the Communists explicitly stated what they considered the national aims of Yugoslav foreign policy. Venezia Giulia and Trieste were the pivot of that policy. But it was not until spring, 1945, that Tito, during his visit to Moscow, succeeded in convincing Stalin of the necessity for incorporating Trieste into Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the Yugoslav Communists tried to persuade their Italian comrades in the disputed areas to support this policy. And pressure was brought on the entire Italian Communist Party. According to my information, Palmiro Togliatti, the Italian Communist leader, visited Tito's headquarters before his return to Italy from his Moscow exile. He is alleged to have agreed to the Yugoslav aspirations. But later, Togliatti and the Italian Communists, under the weight of public opinion and in anticipation of the elections, changed their attitude and emphasized the Italian character of Trieste.

The Yugoslav Communists have refused to negotiate directly with the Italian government and the Italian Prime Minister, Alcide de Gasperi. They attack both as "fascist." As late as last spring, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Edvard Kardelj declared that Yugoslavia could come to an agreement only with the Italian Communists. But this policy of blackmail abroad also has its internal advantages. For it serves to counteract the anti-Communist opposition inside Yugoslavia, which, after Trieste had been placed under Allied control, exploited the situation by saying that it was only natural for the Western powers not to

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give the area to Yugoslavia because they could not leave the only door—its most important door, open to Central Europe—in the hands of a Communist state.

In reality, the 43 days of Yugoslav occupation of the disputed region had very much compromised Yugoslavia's political position. The Triestians were quite well disposed toward Yugoslavia during the war, but the swift introduction of radical changes during the short period of occupation by Tito's army had frightened the Italians in Venezia Giulia and Trieste as well as those Yugoslavs who were not disposed to come under Communist control. Thus Yugoslav possession of Trieste became a matter of prestige, for its return to Italy or even internationalization would be a terrific setback to the Tito regime throughout Yugoslavia and especially in neighboring Slovenia. If Trieste had not become an internal question of Communist prestige against the anti-Communist opposition, the situation could be solved more easily. But now the Yugoslav Communists are determined to win Trieste in order to embarrass the democratic opposition which did not succeed in acquiring it for Yugoslavia. And they will claim that they succeeded because they enjoy the powerful backing of Russia, while the opposition was supported by the Western powers which, they say, have always betrayed the national aspirations of the Yugoslav peoples.

The creation of a Macedonian republic within the Yugoslav federal state is of crucial international importance. For Macedonia is not complete unless it also comprises all Macedonians now living under Bulgarian and Greek rule. The port of Salonika is Macedonia's natural exit to the sea. The situation is similar to that of Trieste. The Yugoslav and Greek Communists, it is alleged, could come to an agreement, but Greece could not consent. Without Salonika, Greece would be just an insignificant country where the Slavs, linked to Russia by way of the Dardanelles, could walk as freely as they pleased.

Albania was conquered by the Communists during the war, when the Yugoslavs organized the Communist movement there. The country is now under total Russian control. The door to the Mediterranean through the port of Otranto cannot be closed by Italy or any other power, even if the Slavs were not in Trieste.

Yugoslavia and Russia

The Balkan states are rapidly assuming the constitutional character of the Ukraine and the other republics within the USSR. The time may not be far off when they will be joined in a single legal union. Plebiscites for that purpose can be easily arranged by the Communists now dominant in Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania. The particular moment for this move depends on when it suits Russia best.

Marshal Tito has repeated several times that Yugoslavia is no longer a football in the game of the imperialist-capitalist powers, that she is sovereign and really independent. That would be correct if she were not playing Russia's imperialistic game. The tragedy of the situation is that Yugoslavia and the other Balkan nations are now used by the East against the West, just as they were used in the past by the West against the East. For the peasant masses of the Balkans it is the same tragic game. The Communists have done and are doing what the reactionaries and conservatives did. But the essential interest of the Balkans is to be a bridge between East and West. The sovereignty and independence of the Balkan states cannot be real unless they are guaranteed by the Big Three or Big Four or Big Five or the United Nations, just as the Congress of Vienna guaranteed the independence of Switzerland for the interest of peace among the neighboring big powers at that time. There is no other solution in the long run. If it could be accomplished, such questions as Trieste or Salonika could easily be solved because it would no longer be a question of Slavic against Western power, but a question of mutual agreement to obtain better economic and political relations among the nations concerned.

The Summing Up

It may be appropriate to conclude this article with a statement by Dr. Jovanovic, the ousted opposition leader. "Our ambassador to Moscow does not really exist there," he said, "but that is unnecessary because Moscow is today in Belgrade. It seems that Russia does not see the need of any political parties other than the Communist Party in Yugoslavia, especially the need for a Peasant Party."

As a matter of fact, the imposition of the Soviet system has proved to be politically and economically the very opposite of progress. The new system of secret police, more perfect than ever before, and the tremendous bureaucratic machine, bigger than ever before, have again deprived the Yugoslav peoples of every political freedom. The Communists neither feel nor understand this.

Their economic reforms so far are only the result of the extreme pauperization and destruction in which war and civil strife left the country. A democratic government would institute the same reforms. Moreover, the technicians and engineers so necessary for reconstruction would not have been lost through purges.

The Yugoslav peasant masses and middle classes are individualistic. They look on the new regime as evil, and for them evil is always evil, and God is always God. The evil cannot grow into good. The strange dialectic mental processes of the Communists make no sense to the realistic minds of the Balkan peasants, who just do not believe that Macek in Croatia or Maniu in Rumania are fascists. They are clever enough to know the truth. There is a dramatic struggle in the Balkans today between the commissars and the

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peasants, who refuse to swallow the Communist line of their own "political immaturity." They know better. And this is precisely the reason why the Communists have to strengthen their grip continuously and to impose it on the peasant masses. The whole of Yugoslavia has thus become one huge laboratory, with highly individualistic guinea pigs who are injected by the commissars with Communist dialectics in conferences, political sessions and doctrinaire exegeses.

The real tragedy of Yugoslavia is the tragedy of every small nation in Europe today. When a small country is forced by an intellectual minority—whether they are fascists or communists—to take active part in an ideological war between big powers, it has to pay for this drama with its blood and possibly its physical disappearance. The peoples of Yugoslavia are exhausted physically and morally. Conscious of yesterday's bloody experience, they fear they will again be drawn into an ideological conflict, contrary to their desire for the chance to begin a decent and peaceful life.

The Liberals and Russia

I. A Program for Progressives

by Joseph and Stewart Alsop

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT is now engaged in sowing the seeds of its own destruction. Any political movement which fails boldly to confront the paramount realities of its time cannot survive indefinitely. And the liberal movement as a whole has consistently avoided the great political reality of the present: the Soviet challenge to the West.

The blunt fact is that the Soviet Union has embarked on a vast process of expansion which will, if it is not halted, ultimately bring into the sphere of Soviet control most of Europe, Asia and the Middle East. In Europe, Molotov is now bidding for the control of Germany, which means in the end the control of Europe. In New York, Gromyko has made it clear that the Russians have no intention of accepting even the limited sacrifice of national sovereignty without which all talk of internationalization of the atom bomb becomes meaningless. The Russians have indicated as plainly as possible that no attempts, however tentative, in the direction of world government will turn them aside from their new imperialism. This is the basic fact which most liberals have been tragically attempting to ignore, to minimize, to palliate, to excuse.

The tragedy of this liberal attitude is all the deeper in that only a dynamic and realistic liberal leadership in this country could conceivably bring about that compromise between the Soviet system and the West which alone can avert the final tragedy. Such a leadership would recognize, as there is every reason to believe that Franklin Roosevelt, with his profound sense of political realities, recognized before he died, the reality of the new Soviet imperialism and the desperate danger of eventual conflict with the West which it implies.

That recognition must be the first step in any liberal program for dealing with the Soviet Union. Soviet expansion must be faced with political firmness, to the end that it may be halted, however temporarily, and that a lasting compromise may be achieved. But this is only the first step.

THE SOFT SPOTS

The second step in a realistic liberal program of foreign policy must be bold, constructive measures throughout the world to remove the conditions which lend themselves to Soviet expansion. Economic backwardness and social misery, famine and feudalism, produce huge soft spots in Europe, in the Middle East and in China. Politically these soft spots act like vacuums, sucking in anything that will fill them, and the real question today is how they will be filled.

Only broad programs of economic rehabilitation, keyed to the requirements of the various low-level areas and backed by the vast reservoir of America's economic strength, will provide an adequate substitute for Russian imperialism. In Europe, for example, we are faced with the alternatives of a huge investment of energy and money to assure a livable European economy, or a Europe in which the hopelessness of the people will constitute a permanent temptation to the Politburo and the NKVD. Our policy should be one of relief in kind—food, textiles, equipment to put the European economy on its feet again—and we must face the necessity of continuing such a policy over a long period. For the Middle East, the admirable plan for a Jordan Valley Authority establishes a sound pattern. In China, the projects for a Yangtze River Dam and the YVA, and for flood and erosion control, power development and agricultural improvement in the valley of the Huang Ho, form

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excellent points of departure. Such projects should be keyed, politically as well as economically, to the needs of the particular areas in question. For example, the way to induce the Chinese government to undertake sound measures of land reform is not to read moral lectures to them, but to make reform incidental to a US-financed YVA program.

For such a program we would need a clear understanding with the British. But anyone who has troubled to ask them knows that intelligent British Socialists see clearly that Western imperialism is dead, and that the only imperialism that can succeed is the Soviet brand, employing much more brutal repressive measures than we or the British, while we remain democracies, would ever attempt. To substitute healthy, modern economies for the old colonial sore spots should be the liberal objective. Only by this substitution can the temptation to expand be removed from the Soviet Union.

The Role of World Organization

These first two points in a politically realistic liberal program toward the Soviet Union—recognition of the Soviet challenge and American firmness toward further Soviet expansion, together with a dynamic effort to further international social justice and bind up the war's wounds—would lead finally to the third. That would be whole-hearted American insistence on a working world organization, involving its own elements of sovereignty, including real international control of atomic energy. In such an organization the Soviets must abandon their insistence that the UN is a mere bureau for registering the rare agreements between great powers, and must be prepared to attempt to effect honest solutions of problems as they arise, just as we must be. A working world organization is feasible today, because the world power relationship is reasonably balanced and will afford a sound framework for it. But if that power relationship is allowed to be unbalanced much further by the constant increase of Soviet power, a functioning world organization is out of the question. Therefore we must gamble all we have on it now. That means not only our moral and intellectual energy, but also the physical and economic strength which are the real counters in the international game. It is fatuous to give lip service to the cause of world government without recognizing that the Soviet Union is today the greatest single obstacle to any sort of working world organization, and that the Soviets will change their minds only if they are made to understand that the alternative will be at least as intolerable for them as for us.

This kind of program can be achieved only through a dynamic liberal leadership. American conservative leadership is about as dynamic as a mud turtle. Moreover, to conservatives, world economic rehabilitation sounds like so much globaloney; you cannot expect conservatives, only just reconciled to the TVA, to start peddling YVA's. Nor can you expect conservatives, still concerned with states' rights and disliking a strong federal government, enthusiastically to embrace world government. The conservatives' answer to the Soviet challenge is simple—a firm line and more battleships. That is not enough.

Nor is it enough to take the usual liberal view—the line of hoping for the best, while refusing to recognize the possibility of the worst. There is no effective leadership to be found in a liberal movement which points with strangled rage at the occasional mud on British or American skirts while clucking sympathetically, like a maiden aunt finding excuses for the behavior of a favorite nephew, over the blatant imperialism of the Soviet Union. The program outlined above would be expensive and would require enormous effort. It could only be undertaken with the widespread support of the American people. Such support would be forthcoming only if the people had a lively sense that such measures must be taken to save their own skins. If the liberal line continues to be that no Soviet challenge to the United States exists, or that it exists only because of the sinister designs of our State Department, obviously nothing will be done. The world will draw closer and closer to the brink.

Compromise Now!

The liberals have a natural sympathy toward the Soviet Union, which represents the extreme Left, just as many moderate conservatives have had an irrepressible sympathy toward the fascist states, as representatives of the extreme Right. Only a fool could fail to recognize the difference between the fascist system and the Soviet system, which though brutal in method, is entirely civilized in its basic concepts. Yet surely it is wiser to suppress these sympathies and judge international politics in a hard, cold, unsentimental light. For it is power, not internal concepts, which is the basic unit of all politics. That is what politics is about, as the Soviets, being materialists, well understand. If a situation arises in which one state achieves almost unchallengeable predominance in power, compromise becomes impossible; there are then only two alternatives for the weaker states, as Britain discovered in 1939: knuckling under or fighting it out. The way to avoid the war which we must avoid, if a few shreds of civilization are to survive, is to insist on a reasonable compromise now.

For if the worst happens, the worst for which the liberals are refusing to prepare, if the sphere of Soviet control continues to spread over Europe and Asia, this country, confronted by so unfavorable a balance of power, realizing the sudden, unchallengeable predominance of the Soviet Union, will suffer a violent chemical change. The hysteria of fear in the United States, which will be inevitable under these circumstances,

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will not promote a movement to the Left. It will give rise to a native brand of fascism.

Our national interest dictates support for liberal objectives: a working world organization, measures of economic and social reconstruction throughout the world, the effective internationalization of the new weapons, general disarmament. The liberals will destroy themselves, however, if they think these ends can be gained except by a realistic political approach. And in destroying themselves, they will destroy our world.

II. Who Can Build the New World?

by Max Lerner

ON THE SURFACE it is hard to quarrel with the Alsops' moderate and reasoned piece. They are no William C. Bullitt, crying for a holy war against the Bolshevik Antichrist. They only want to call a halt to Soviet expansion, so that a "compromise between the Soviet system and the West" can be achieved. So do I. They want a "broad program of economic rehabilitation" for the world. So do I. They want a "working world organization," including control of atomic energy. So do I. They want a "dynamic leadership" by America to counter the "dynamic force" of the Soviet Union. So do I. They think that American liberals should take the lead in summoning this dynamic leadership. So do I.

On this level of abstractions, then, all is sweetness and light between us, and one can only say "amen." But, like an iceberg, nine-tenths of their argument lies beneath the surface—most of it in phases of the subject they never mention. Here is where my disagreements begin.

Although the Alsops conveniently name no specific names in their attack on the liberals, I assume (in the context of other writing in a similar vein by them) that their principal target is Secretary Henry A. Wallace. I assume they are asking why men like Wallace and the liberals who roughly share his world view don't give their militant support to the Truman-Byrnes-Dulles-Connally-Vandenberg policies. I am not ready to do that myself without asking some questions.

For example, has our policy toward Spain made any sense in terms of democratic dynamism? We had a chance to assume world leadership in invoking United Nations sanctions against Franco's regime. We defaulted. When Poland asked for a worldwide rupture of diplomatic relations with Franco, we refused to go along. Did we suspect Poland's motives as part of Russia's East European orbit? I should call that irrelevant. Did we fear that Franco's overthrow would give Spain's left-wing groups a chance to set up a Russia-oriented government? Given the political complexion of the Giral Republican cabinet, or any other democratic caretaker government, I should call that a pretty far-fetched fear. But when you are dealing with a power-politics struggle, no suspicion is irrelevant and no fear far-fetched. I can understand the American default on Spain in terms of unyielding power politics, which is jockeying for position in a future war. I cannot understand it in terms of democratic dynamism. Can the Alsops?

"DYNAMISM" IN THE EAST

Let me consider another example—China. There is no question that General Marshall and Ambassador Stuart want peace in China. There can also be no question that even more than peace they want to make certain that the Chinese Communist forces do not win the upper hand. Hence we have a dual policy of both striving to bring the two factions together and arming Chiang's forces in their war with the Communists, which cries aloud with inner contradictions. As power politics preparing for an inevitable war it makes sense. As "democratic dynamism" it is nonsense. Or don't the Alsops think so?

Their implication that this would also have been Roosevelt's policy doesn't jibe with FDR's repeated intimations to Chiang that the price of American post-war aid to China would be an agreement for a coalition government—and that the coalition would have to come before the aid, not after. The Alsops want a Yangtze Valley Authority, which is fine: but the first question is the kind of political power that would administer it.

Let me consider a final example—Palestine. On the score of democratic dynamism, higher living standards and economic reconstruction, the British policy of disarming the Jews and stopping Jewish immigration into Palestine is nonsensical. The Jews have a functioning economic and political democracy there that stands in dramatic contrast to the feudal Arab policies. They have the legal and political commitments of a succession of British and American governments. Yet American policy on Palestine is slowly, hesitantly but inevitably moving into alignment with the British, and only the fear of Jewish anti-Administration votes accounts even for the hesitations. Why? Partly because we have stakes in the Middle East oil and airline concessions that are tied to the Arab feudal leaders, but mainly because we fear the entrance of Russian power into the Middle East should an Arab uprising against the British throw

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the area into turmoil. Again it is the fear of Russian power which is the key to our actual policy—not "living standards" or a "Jordan Valley Authority" or "democratic dynamism." Only a few days ago I read an article from London by Joseph Alsop interpreting the whole Palestine problem not in terms of justice either to Jews or Arabs, nor in terms of democracy or living standards: but solely in terms of the question, "Who will control the Middle East? Will it be Russia or Britain?"

America's Dilemma

I single out these three cases because they illustrate the fatal dilemma of American foreign policy. This is not "occasional mud on British and American skirts"—it is the main direction of our policy. Nor am I "clucking sympathetically" over Soviet imperialism. I condemn it, as I condemn every other imperialism. The main point I am making is the point that the Alsops wholly miss. An American foreign policy that is guided by the fear of Russian power must in the end—whatever its other pretensions—be guided by nothing else. It is bound to throw out the window such intangibles as justice for the Spanish Republicans or peace in China or elementary decency toward the Jews of Palestine or toward the refugees of Central Europe. It throws them out because once you make the obsession with Russia your crucial test, nothing else counts except to give the Russians no possible advantage.

If you are not naïve about the clash of power politics you will know that there is a political Gresham's Law operating in it: base political motives drive out decent political motives. No matter how high-minded you may be to start with, there is an immense suction force about power politics that draws you into its vortex; and you find yourself in the end thinking only of what you have to do in order not to be at a disadvantage in a potential war. That means, in effect, that you turn your foreign policy over to the General Staffs, with the diplomats their puppets and the people their victims.

Does this mean that I advocate an acquiescent policy toward Russia? It does not. I would no more be acquiescent to Russian imperialism than I would to British. We must slap down both, and as decent Americans we must oppose American expansionism, too, which can operate more subtly and smugly than the Russian because it operates by its economic power and by backing the status-quo groups. Slap the Russians down where they deserve it, but don't make the Spanish Republican cause the victim of your Russia-obsession, nor the Jewish cause in Palestine, nor the anti-Kuomintang cause in China, nor the militant anti-fascist cause in Poland, nor the democratic government of Czechoslovakia, nor the Russia-oriented anti-fascists in Greece. Once you hand your foreign policy over to the General Staffs, all left-wing movements anywhere in the world become suspect because they are not deemed as safe in the event of a war with Russia as the right-wing movements are. Make it clear to Russia that you will check every imperialist aggression of hers. But do not for that reason tear the heart out of world democracy by dooming all left-wing movements because they don't jibe with your campaign against Russia.

This is the basic dilemma of liberals who think as the Alsops do. They want a "compromise between the Soviet system and the West," but in concrete terms they seem to know no other way to act on the political level except by an all-out drive against Russia. They want an American democratic dynamism, but expect it to emerge somehow from a movement so obsessed with fear of Russia that it has been willing to betray the democratic cause all over the globe and to support the very systems of reactionary power that are the greatest enemies of democratic dynamism.

So far from being "realism," it is the utmost political naïveté to believe that out of the clash of two great fear-obsessed powers peace will somehow be born; that from the working alliances that America is forming with rightist forces everywhere, liberalism and social reconstruction can somehow flourish.

The Liberal Course

A genuine American liberalism can free itself from its past bemusement with Russian policy, but it will lose its soul if it loses itself in the morass of a Russia-obsessed foreign policy. I am not talking now of the truckling pro-Russian servility of the unwavering fellow traveler that has plagued American liberalism for years. That is as distasteful to me, and as dangerous to world democracy and peace, as the paranoid anti-Russian hysteria of former Communist believers grown disillusioned. I am talking of the liberals who know that this tortured world is doomed if it cannot bring into being a powerful movement that is democratic in politics, socialist in economics, internationalist in world terms and deeply humanist in its ethics.

These liberals will know that the great enemy of America is not Russia but the paralysis of will which, faced by an impending clash of two power systems, thinks not of how to avert it, but of how to consolidate all forces behind it. Refusing to approve of either the Soviet system or its policies, they will also refuse to make Russia-baiting the center and test of their liberalism. They will oppose to the Communist idea system and the Communist political machines, not negativist anti-Russian power politics, but democracy-in-action, in foreign policy as well as domestic. They will know that an interval of peace purchased by our superior force and toughness will not last, and that the "compromise" between Russia and the West can come only if we back up the sort of democratic and socialist movements which embody the synthesis of both systems.

The liberals, God save them, have been guilty of enough foolishness in the past without snuffing out now the flickering candle of what reason is left in the world.

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Letter from Poland—The New Underground

SINCE Poland's liberation, a situation has developed which in certain circumstances could lead to civil war. The Polish government is faced with two kinds of opposition: a legal, party opposition, Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party (the PSL); and an illegal, shooting opposition, which no government can tolerate. It is the existence of this second opposition, together with its increasing closeness to the legal opposition, which constitutes the danger.

After 18 months of liberation, armed bands still defy the government in large areas of southern and eastern Poland. Though many of them have been captured by the authorities, only the periphery of the organization has been touched. Strong enough to keep whole districts under a reign of terror, these bands burn villages and keep up a regular program of political assassinations, kidnaping and other forms of intimidation. They have killed several hundred Red Army officers and men, and several thousand Poles and Jews. Their underground organization in the towns succeeded in murdering and torturing some dozens of members of polling commissions. And it has organized at least one full-scale pogrom, in Kielce on July 4.

This activity is not haphazard but is linked to political propaganda. Its objectives are the overthrow of the regime and the preparation of war against the Soviet Union; its chief slogans are anti-Semitic, anti-Communist and anti-Russian; its strongest arguments are the existence of Anders' army and the promise of war between the USSR and the West. Its propaganda is reinforced by pretensions to support from Britain and America when the crisis comes.

A useful microscope through which to examine the situation is the Kielce pogrom. For Kielce was a carefully timed operation in a strategic campaign of political warfare which has little to do with Jews and extends far beyond Kielce. Accounts of the day's events were published in the American press. A nine-year-old boy who had been missing for two days returned home with a story of ritual murder of Christian children. His parents took him to the police, the story spread through the city, and a crowd of about 5,000, led by agitators, constituted themselves a lynching-mob for seven hours: of Kielce's 200 Jews, 41 were buried next day. Nearly 200 people were arraigned.

The trials showed elaborate planning behind the pogrom. Even the police were involved. Two were tried and sentenced to death for murdering some of the Jews. There were many smaller outbreaks, all characterized by the same careful preparation. A wave of terror swept the nation's railways, and scores of Jews were murdered on trains.

Once the implications of this systematic planning are understood, it becomes necessary to identify the planners and discover their purpose. There is no Jewish "problem" in Poland today. Of a population of approximately 23.5 million, there are fewer than 80,000 Jews. They offer no economic threat. Nor does the Jewish community as such play any part in political affairs, as every Pole knows. A handful of Jews occupy important governmental positions, which is about as significant an observation as that a handful of Welshmen occupy similar positions in England. On the other hand, a large number—perhaps even the majority—are extremely anxious to leave Poland. While anti-Semitism can be expected to linger in a country where it has been so strong for centuries, it would soon fade out for lack of rational grounds. The actual relations of Poles and Jews today, then, provide no clue to the meaning of the pogroms. The truth is that anti-Semitism is again being used for its classic purpose, as a political weapon; only this time, instead of serving as scapegoats for a government, the Jews are being exploited for the counter-revolution.

WHO FORMS THE OPPOSITION?

The three main sources of opposition—the terrorist organizations, the Peasant Party and the Catholic Church—each adopted a characteristic attitude toward the pogrom.

First, the terrorist organizations. The trials established that the agitators were members of these secret societies. They did not confine themselves to anti-Semitic shibboleths. "Kill the Jews!" passed into "Down with the Jewish government!" which in turn became "Down with the friends of Stalin!" From there, the association of ideas is easy enough. It was expressed in slogans like "Long live Anders!," "Long live the atomic bomb!" and so on.

The nucleus of this underground is the NSZ, an organization formed by the prewar fascist group, the ONR. At one stage of the German occupation, it put itself at Sosnkowski's disposal and was allowed by him to affiliate with the right-wing resistance army, the AK, to fight the left-wing partisans.

The NSZ derives its organizational strength and political aims from two main sources. The first is the big landlords dispossessed by agrarian reforms. Many of these ex-aristocrats have placed themselves at the head of NSZ groups, taking with them the rich peasants who used to form the apparatus of their power. Once the élite of Poland, they have degenerated into creatures like the young Zamojski, a scion of one of Poland's "best" families who was captured and shot some months ago for atrocities against his fellow countrymen as bestial as anything the Nazis did.

The second source is the Anders liaison. It is a matter of evidence that considerable sections of Anders' organization have long been supplying the NSZ inside Poland with money, directives and possibly arms. The writer found traces of this contact last February, during a tour through the parts of northern Italy where Anders' army was stationed. Since then, further evidence has come to light in Poland. Last November, for example, the security authorities arrested Captain Henry Kowalski, a member of Anders' intelligence service who had entered the country illegally from Ancona in October. Under the name of "Jasinski," he was head of an "intelligence and diversion" group. In March of this year, another group, known as "Cirk," was rounded up. Led by a Captain Karolkiewicz, its job was counter-espionage. "Cirk" had murdered several dozen Polish officials, Communist Party functionaries and Red

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Army officers in the course of its operations. But it was only part of a larger group known as "Liceum," under Barbara Krolikowska (arrested on March 13 of this year), who carried directives from Anders' himself. There is evidence that the work is now carried on through some of the Anders' men repatriated from Britain.

Using Kielce as a touchstone again, one can test the relationship between this shooting opposition and the respectable Peasant Party of Mikolajczyk. Every political organization in Poland reacted in some way to the pogrom. All five government parties at once issued strong condemnations. Mikolajczyk's PSL maintained silence. After nearly a week, he made a mild and general statement deploring the massacre. Even this was a revolutionary step for Mikolajczyk. Ever since he joined the government, he has stood aside from its campaign against racial hatred; his paper has contributed no articles; his spokesmen, no denunciations. When I asked Mikolajczyk what was his attitude toward the anti-Semitic problem, he said he knew nothing about it. The explanation of this Pilate-like negativism lies in the political dynamics of the past year.

Mikolajczyk joined the government as the protégé and champion of Western democracy. To those who made his acceptance a condition for the recognition of Poland's government, he was a "moderating influence." As time went on he embraced this role with such enthusiasm that the whole of his party machinery was used to attack the government of which he was Vice Premier.

Like insects attracted to a light, the underground came scurrying into the PSL. Here was an ideal way to strengthen their own armory by the addition of all the legal weapons of political warfare. The PSL asked no other qualification of its members than hostility to the government. As the extremists infiltrated, the moderates began to fall off. As the moderates leave, the extremists penetrate further into the party, till gradually they are gaining control. By the time of the referendum, four days before Kielce, the NSZ broadsheets which carried anti-Semitic propaganda were claiming Mikolajczyk as their champion. The areas where the NSZ are strongest, like Cracow, were those which voted solidly for the PSL line—no abolition of the senate—on the first question. But official PSL policy was opposition on the first question alone: it advocated "yes" to the nationalization of industry, the land reforms and the new western frontiers. The NSZ demanded a "no" vote on all three questions, and proved its strength. Of the 3.5 million who voted no to the first question, more than 2.5 million also voted no to the second, and nearly one million to the third.

The last result means that a million adult Poles, enjoying full citizenship rights, voted that the Silesian industries and coalfields should go back to Germany. You can hear the explanation in any Warsaw café. Some believe that a temporary return of Silesia to a Germany under Western protection would go a long way toward enabling the Western powers to start the longed-for war against Russia. The war over, the Poles would get Silesia back, in payment for services rendered.

Lastly, the Church. Though so far left in possession of all its land, the Catholic hierarchy is in bitter opposition to a government in which Communists and left-wing Socialists play a leading role. By refusing to support any action of the government's, however consistent with Christian principles, the Church has chosen to neutralize much of the government's effort to stamp out racial hatred. In cruder terms, it has an interest in maintaining anti-Semitism at the moment: for to destroy it would be to deprive the opposition of its most valuable political weapon.

This is not theory. Again, the proof comes from the Kielce incident. Not until the pogrom was a single hierarchical voice raised against anti-Semitism, despite repeated appeals from the Jewish community. After the pogrom, one ecclesiastic, the Bishop of Czestochowa, denounced it in unequivocal terms. But he received no support from his superior, Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland. Instead, the Cardinal made a statement to representatives of the foreign press which not only condoned the terrorists, whose activities he described as "the battle of weapons on Poland's fighting political front," but also identified his personal opinion with that of the anti-Semites.

It amounts to this: as long as the terror from the Right exists, any force that tries to undermine the regime will find itself abdicating all initiative in favor of the extremists. Already, the only choice is between either the new Poland or a fascist Poland. The PSL has become a façade; moral support for Mikolajczyk becomes moral capital for the NSZ. I do not think that civil war is inevitable, but Vice Premier Gomolka has already warned the nation that it could come to that.

Warsaw KENNETH SYERS

Hollywood Barnum

IN THE boyishly macabre "The Stranger," which Orson Welles has just beaten out, a dream of a New England village where even the buses seem clean is hit in a quiet way by one nightmarish crime after another. A man looking around a spic-and-span gymnasium is conked on the head by a flying ring; a dog nosing through the woods is given a murderous slug of poison for getting too close to his master's secret; a boy goes fishing and is told his sister has married the Nazi who invented many of the concentration-camp torture devices; some schoolboys on a paper-chase in the woods just miss running into their favorite prof choking a lifelong pal to death. Oddly enough, the most horrible events—like that in which the villain dangles his wife from the rafters of a church steeple—go off with dispatch and don't seem terrifying at all, whereas the lazy, cozy, inconsequential scenes—fishing on the lake, checkers at the drugstore, dinner in a secure New England home—hop with excitement; every move the actors make is significant; the scenes are entrancing enactions of everyday activity in an American town.

The story has to do with the location and the all but interminably delayed capture of a fiendish Nazi (Welles) by a detective (Edward G. Robinson) who is working for the Allied War Crimes Commission and who exposes himself to danger with a suicidal detachment and a sense of indestructibility that don't admit of villains hurting heroes. Most of the detecting takes place in Harper, Connecticut, where the Nazi is hiding out until the next war as a self-effacing history professor at a plush boys' school. The story goes on forever, with a labored piling up of one bulky event after another. You get the sense of a carpenter at

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work rather than a writer. But this is as nothing compared to the pervading feeling that the situations of terror and horror are contrivances on a level with Hallowe'en pranks and that the patient and reserved people of Harper would never be involved in such Amazing Story melodrama. This is characteristic of Welles's preoccupation with events (the more sensational the better), his adolescent delight in scaring you, in bowling you over with some knockout notion or other, his use of people as nothing but pawns to carry his fact-laden plots to fruition. The characters are made to fit the event rather than the other way around. Like his plots, his people are conglomerations of showy, unimportant detail rather than the result of curiosity and subtle perception.

But as incurious as Welles is about what makes people tick, he has no such blind spot about the medium, whatever it happens to be at the moment—theatre, movies or radio—and he has turned out a tense and vivid film, the most cinematic to come from Hollywood this year. He has a sense as well as an enthusiasm for movie-making, and particularly in this film, despite the pulp-story plot and the infinitesimal amount of character analysis, he shows remarkable savvy about how to make a movie go. He has given up much of the stagey technique of "Citizen Kane," "The Magnificent Ambersons," "Journey into Fear," and now even hackneyed moments—like the ending—are not unexciting because they are set up in a striking, authentic naturalism and shot at an angle that gives you the hardest impact of the action.

"The Stranger" is beautiful for lighting and textures, and affords an experience of late fall Connecticut landscape that is on the breathtaking side. The most successful and original directing is reserved for casual conversations: here minor actions are made so engrossing and contact between persons so combustible that they seem constantly about to explode. It is as though Welles realized how much his movie was a matter of melodramatic events, and so concentrated on these trivial conversations to give you the greatest possible sense of people thinking, being emotionally affected by one another, and especially of being touchy and distant with each other.

A good deal of the movie's unreality is due to the soggy effect Loretta Young produces as the bride who learns a day or so after her honeymoon that she's married a fanatical Nazi rather than a history professor. She has moments—as in her worried recounting of a bad dream—when she seems in contact with this world, but otherwise she is her usual movie self, a woman whose nerves are shot and who always seems in a totally unnecessary deep study. The greatest force for realism is Robinson as the detective; the most absorbing scenes the conversations he has with the operator (Billy House) of the trick drugstore. Welles deserves a medal for using Robinson in a less stereotyped fashion than has been the case before, and another for showing a reserved, almost sullen schoolboy (Richard Long) who is the only boy I've seen outside of a Val Lewton film who doesn't turn my thoughts to murder.

Recent movies I have particularly disliked are "Night and Day," "The Kid from Brooklyn," "Young Widow," "The Man I Love," "Without Reservations," "Two Guys from Milwaukee" and "The Notorious Gentleman."

MANNY FARBER

UN Observer

The United Nations' first two weeks in its new home at Lake Success have not been particularly happy ones. Added to the physical discomforts of delegates, officials and press in orienting themselves in an unfamiliar maze of corridors, staircases and offices, with piles of building materials clogging the passage ways and workmen still hammering, sawing, welding and wiring, the Security Council has been making a more than usually depressing spectacle of itself.

It's new Council Chamber at Sperry suffers from all the fundamental defects in design of its predecessor at Hunter College, plus a few original faults of its own. Like the one at Hunter, it is not a council chamber but a stage set. Conceived in the theatrical terms of putting on a good show for the public instead of efficiently housing international debate, it almost forces upon delegates the technique of the ham actor mugging to the audience.

It took the Council a week of meetings to decide, against the opposition of van Kleffens of the Netherlands and Cadogan of the United Kingdom, to admit the Ukrainian accusations to its agenda at all. Gromyko, the Soviet representative, enthusiastically supported the Ukrainian charges and fought hard to allow Dmitri Manuilsky, the Ukrainian delegate, to participate in the arguments on the procedural question. He lost out on that, and van Kleffens and Cadogan in turn lost their cause when Herschel Johnson for the United States came out in support of hearing the Ukrainian case, and thereby swung the necessary seven votes in the Council for putting it on the agenda as it stood.

Manuilsky, who as Ukrainian Foreign Minister is one of the slickest and most subtle of the Soviet Union's international mouthpieces, took two hours and a half to present the case for the prosecution. Vassili Dendramis, the Greek representative, took three hours and a half to present Greece's defense. Cadogan, for Britain, took twelve and a half minutes.

Dendramis asked plaintively how Greece could be accused of planning aggression when her army was still only in the stage of reorganization, while among her neighbors, Bulgaria had an army of 150,000, Yugoslavia an army of 300,000 and Albania an army of 60 to 80,000. That was about the total evidence on either side.

Meanwhile, preparations were going forward for the meeting of the Economic and Social Council—from which regrettably Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Indian representative who as the Council's first President has contributed so much to making it the one really promising United Nations' organ, will be absent. Dr. Andrija Stampar, the Yugoslav vice president, will take the chair in Sir Ramaswami's place.

The confusion about the date for the General Assembly meeting has resulted in a lot of angry people in New York. The city has been making elaborate plans to welcome the Assembly, and if those plans go awry again, the United Nations is not going to improve its never very high popularity with its adopted hometown.

EDWARD MONTGOMERY

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The Bandwagon

. . . At least three other incidents of British army personnel black-marketing guns to Arabs have been unearthed in a month's digging. The source of the arms sold was not learned, but an Arab high in command of one organization said: "I suppose they are guns the British have been taking away from the Jews." – *Carter L. Davidson in* PM.

Then when I did find a good Catholic girl . . . I'd want a big church wedding with three priests on the altar, full choir and organ, candles, flowers, and a church filled with guests. That would be something to think back on when times got hard, as they inevitably would. – *From a story by the Reverend Richard Ginder in the* St. Anthony Messenger.

Bishop Theophil Wurm of Württemberg, 78-year-old chairman of the council of the Evangelical Church of Germany, charged today that "extreme Left elements are using the denazification laws to destroy Germany's leading classes of educated men. There is something Bolshevistic about it," he said. . . . "It is unjust that a man's life should be ruined, that he should lose his career and property because of a political mistake." – *From the New York* Times.

The Hen or the Egg Controversy

"Books like the *Memoirs of Hecate County* serve as a stimulant to create sexual desire which, in turn, breaks up homes and breaks up decent living." – *John Sumner as quoted in* Publisher's Weekly.

Going Up!

R. L. Farnsworth [president of the United States Rocket Society, Inc.] said today the United States should step lively and occupy the moon if it wants to be the No. 1 power of the atomic age. . . . The power that holds the moon, he said, will be able to bomb any point on the earth's surface. – *UP dispatch from Chicago.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Letter to a Southern Senator

SIR: I have lived in your state for over a year now, and I like it here. I have decided to make a career out of the Army and at present I am living off the post with my wife and family. We like the city, the people; the schools are good, and the climate is better, I think, than up North. I believe that if I ever decide to leave the Army, I should continue to live here.

But to come to the point! There is one thing that has bothered me, which I think needs to be brought to your attention, if it hasn't been already. And that is the matter of letting Negroes get on board a bus before the white people do. The Negroes, it seems, get priority on the seats.

Every time I board a bus to go out of town, I have to wait in line while the Negro passengers get on first and fill up the back of the bus, taking two or three seats. Then the white passengers get on, and often white passengers who have been waiting a long time have to stand or don't get on at all.

My job, Sir, requires that I travel occasionally, and I have had opportunity to notice that this situation exists in all the cities in this state. Why it is tolerated I do not know. As far as I know, there is no law which says Negroes should be seated first. If there is such a law, I think it should be changed.

The other day I was standing next to a colored woman waiting to get on the bus and I heard her say to her companion, "They all won't get on but we will." And sure enough, the Negroes all got seats and a lot of whites had to stand up.

Sir, I believe in treating whites the same as blacks. Why should the whites have to wait while the Negroes get on first? They should wait in line like the rest, and if the seats are all taken they should stand as we have to do. I have actually been told by drivers that I couldn't sit in the back seat, and I have seen a Negro get on later and take the vacant seat while I stood up for hours. Such discrimination is uncalled for.

I don't believe, Sir, that the Negro people would object to being treated equal in this matter. I lived in the North before I moved here, and up there the Negroes get on like the whites and there is no trouble. The person who gets on last just has to stand, whether he is black or white, and those who get on first get the seats. I think that is the only fair system.

I don't know just how to recommend changing this situation; I am leaving that up to you and other officials. I am only bringing it to your attention, hoping that you will look into it.

Somewhere in the Deep South A SOLDIER

All the News

SIR: For some time I have been intending to write and congratulate you on your new feature, "Political Roundup." The information you give about Southern and Western states is especially helpful to those of us who want information from *all sections of the nation* and not merely from the states with overwhelmingly metropolitan populations.

Raleigh, N. C. CLARENCE POE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Ali Aghassi of Mount Rainier, Maryland, comments on Irving Brant's article "What Russia Wants" (the *New Republic*, June 3), that in citing the "racial" overlapping between Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan, Mr. Brant is "confusing race, language and nationality." Mr. Aghassi says, "If one is searching for an irredenta (which I am not), it would be well to remember that Soviet Azerbaijan and adjacent territories were part of Persia . . . for at least 2,000 years." Mr. Aghassi says that, while the living standard of Iran is generally low, Azerbaijan is one of the richest provinces, part of the "surplus-producing area of the country," and not the poorest province, as Mr. Brant says.

Mr. Brant replies, "What I said was that speaking 15 languages in a country indicates a complex race relationship. Doesn't it? Nor did I call Azerbaijan Iran's poorest province, but cited press dispatches saying it had a lower standard of living than southern Iran. Southeastern Missouri is the richest part of that state, but has the lowest living standards, too, thanks to sharecropping and racial discrimination."

Several of our readers have written to correct the statement in "Cross Country," by Richard Neuberger (the *New Republic*, July 22), that the 2,400-mile trip from the West Coast to Chicago was, after the trans-Siberian railway, the longest unbroken train ride in the world. Two Canadian railways, the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National, have longer runs between Vancouver and Montreal.

Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler of the Caravan of East and West, 132 East Sixty-fifth Street, New York 21, tells us that their "Food for India" campaign has recently begun to ship packages to India free of charge through the coöperation of the India Supply Mission. She asks our readers to help their groups fight famine in India.

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Books in Review

Blake and the Human Image

WHEN ALL the stars are burned and all the oceans are drowned, E.E. Cummings wrote, "the only secret still will be man." Mark Schorer's book[1] is a masterly analysis of the mind and art of a poet who above all others believed that man was the only secret in the universe, and that the secret could be learned under the pretense of looking for God.

This is an extraordinarily good book—subtle and informed in its understanding of the most difficult and most revolutionary poet in English; above all impatient of easy answers in restoring Blake to the real world. I hope there is as much knowledge of Blake's text as Schorer sometimes takes for granted—it is wonderful to watch him sail past all the clichés—and that his book will have the patient and responsive reading it deserves. It should become a landmark in our growing understanding not only of Blake but of the illuminations in the great Romantics. For Schorer has done what so many Blake admirers have wanted to do, and what obviously only a well trained scholar with real sensibility to the full depth and backward reach of our present disorder could have done. He has taken Blake out of the company of the mystics, the formally religious, the late-nineteenth-century yearners who revived him in their guise, and has shown him as a poet and thinker who accepted and corrected the revolutionary thought of his time. We, who have never corrected it enough but show signs of abandoning it altogether, can now better than ever appreciate Blake's relation to our age.

This, of course, is not the Blake of the literary histories, where he always appears as strangely gifted for a madman. It is not the Blake of those good Christians who think he was on their side, despite lapses. Above all it is not the Blake for whose lack of "tradition" one has to apologize in this age, when so many good critics are often more Catholic than the Pope. This is the Blake of the real world —the world dominated by the human image and filled with the human mystery. Blake thought there was finally nothing else, and that was his undoing. But it was man that obsessed him, not God. This is the Blake who came with an intellectual sword—Blake the libertarian, who replaced the broken images of man's servitude to God with heroic myths of man rejoicing for once in all his human faculties. This is the Blake who thought it more important to be intelligent in a new way than virtuous in the old.

Schorer has sized up the revolutionary substance in Blake perfectly, but with detachment. He does not write with the grateful partisanship of a Swinburne or a Lawrence or a libertarian like Max Plowman. His book is far more important, but there is missing from it that Socialist indignation that makes Jacob Bronowski's little book on Blake in relation to his England, *The Man without a Mask*, such an exciting experience. But this is a Blake Schorer wants not to preach, but to understand and place. The placing sometimes becomes a little wearisome, so closely is Blake's intellectual and poetic character traced against his immediate background in English literary and political ideas. Blake drew heavily on the poetry of the eighteenth century; Schorer has shown this in better detail than anyone else. But revolutionaries are always more akin than contemporaries. A writer's deepest attitude toward the world is the face he wears under the mask of his art. That is why Blake, for me, is so much closer to Nietzsche than to Yeats, whom Schorer presses so often into his argument. It is easy enough to understand why he should want to. Blake's mind worked on Yeats the way some of us would like Kafka to work on ours. But we think we look at the world the way Kafka did; we do not; it is only the dreamy austerity of his art we want. Yeats shared with Blake a happy freedom from our poisonous self-consciousness; his imagination was not ashamed. But his moral imagination is not like Blake's. Blake by the whole style of his protest as it juts against the world, by a certain destructive and apocalyptic tendency, seems to me more akin to agonists like Nietzsche, Dostoevsky and Lawrence than to a suave magician like Yeats. Yeats is more harmonious, sophisticated and insincere—think of Blake saying what Yeats did to Robert Graves when he rejected certain poets from the Oxford Book of Modern Verse: "Too simple, too sincere"! Yeats is a happier poet, a more continually successful poet, but he used the myth on occasion because it was good for his poetry. To Blake the myth was the new Bible; it was the urgent path through the wilderness in which appearance distorts reality. He was never reconciled with the world; and like Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, Rimbaud and Lawrence, he had a recurring need to destroy it.

SCHORER has shown the analogy to Rimbaud very well; Rimbaud is at least the Blake who said no. But he is naturally less interested in showing Blake's relation to fellow crusaders than in tracing the independent and so often misunderstood vision of man which Blake made for himself. My only complaint is that he does not always show the psychological pressure against certain of Blake's ideas: a pressure which gives them their sharpness and fervor, and which at his worst makes him look like a solitary orator in a silent film. Schorer can show how Blake's mind gets into his poetry better than almost anyone I have read. Yet he has a way of following Blake *qua* thinker so steadily up and down the interlocking circles of eighteenth and twentieth-century thought that Blake's ideas seem almost too conceptual to be his. Schorer has really sought to determine what the ideas were, and he shows that it can be done, though Blake did not distinguish between the visual and the verbal. But the solitude of the orator, and its pitiless erosions in the life of Blake, are not always shown. And Schorer tends to put disputed

[1] William Blake: The Politics of Vision, by Mark Schorer. Illustrated. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 542 pages. $5.

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problems too much on the level of personal craft rather than of psychological necessity. Thus: "Half the difficulty of Blake's prophecies is solved if one remembers that their intention is to picture a world as seen in many mirrors, all slightly distorted, and all capable of only partial perspectives, an angle here or an angle there, from which inexact inferences are drawn about the whole." But is it really true that Blake *intended* to picture a world as seen in many mirrors? And when has half of the difficulty been solved? What Schorer has solved is the enlightened intentions of the myth in the prophecies. But the slightly distorted mirrors are often in Blake himself; the mask has been woven into the flesh. We do not have to believe the old philistine reasons to show in our own way that Blake's disturbances often carried him past the shore.

Such considerations come to mind all the more, however, because Schorer has shown with clarity and respect how great is Blake's fundamental search for the conditions of human freedom. The whole effort of Blake's thought is, after all, to show man how to integrate his divided faculties; to resolve—and with what visions!—the "dialectic of the self." Blake was the kind of man who could says, but he was a certain *kind* of poet because he did. of my future labors." He was not valuable because he preached tirelessly a doctrine of human liberty, as Schorer says, but he was a certain kind of poet because he did. And his conception of liberty is founded on use rather than on freedom from restrictions. The Blake Schorer has given us back is the Blake who understood that "Enjoyment and not abstinence is the food of Intellect." For Blake the myth begins where magic ends, and the drama of the myth is always man's vital discovery of his own gifts, crowned by the power of love.

The happiest thing in Schorer's book is the way he shows us Blake pursuing his own way in the style of his sources. Swedenborg, Jakob Boehme, the Bible, the eighteenth-century poets, become the materials out of which Blake fashioned his stark and central human image. Here, better than in any other book on Blake I know, we can see how the illusion arose that Blake took the mystic road away from man. Mysticism, whatever else may be said of it, is a transcendence of the self. It is founded on a dualistic conception that man must exploit his inner metaphysical division and win a victory over himself toward the ineffable union with God. "God," he said, "is only an allegory of kings and nothing else." But "seeking to be more than man, we become less."

YET what persistently deceives us in Blake is the complexity he finds in the human image. The complexity is not in the nature of man, but in the infiniteness of his relation to himself, against a false education and an inhuman society, and therefore to the world. What is "mystical" in Blake is his perception of the doubleness of existence. To the mystic that doubleness is a literal fact and indeed the center of his cosmogony. To Blake the doubleness derives from man's difficulty in knowing; it is a statement about the nature of perception. We live by how much we can see: "we become what we behold." But perception is encrusted, dimmed, ashamed; everything in our morality, our conformity and our fear betrays the depth of our distrust of our own imaginations. And the imagination for Blake is not a tool; it is the central and living activity of man. It alone is "the real man."

The force of Blake's thought was frequently spent on the eighteenth-century radicals who substituted reason as the new king. They set up, in Schorer's words, "an *inorganic departmentalization of phenomena, whether in* the external world or in psychology." It is not difficult to trace therefrom the crude (and cruel) positivism which in the naturalistic novel shows man as the victim of his environment, and in the Leninist mind chains man to the wheel of determinism. Blake's greatness is his horror of abstract systems. He showed at every point how deeply the mind of man impenetrates and shapes the objects he studies. But I disagree when Schorer says that "Blake's only madness lay in the lingering of an inexhaustible hope. He demanded too much of art because he hoped for so much from life." Blake, almost without realizing it, came to insist so much on the human image as the central fact in the world that he rearranged the world around it. Dostoevsky once said that even if it were proved to him that the truth was not in Christ, he would rather be with Christ than with the truth. For Blake the inexhaustible human wish became in the end the enemy of the truth. We do not believe enough in the power of man to change the world; Blake came finally to believe in nothing else. His real heresy is not against God, who as Tolstoy said is "the name of my desire." It is against the humility, bred in us by naturalism, that though man shapes life, he is not the only thing in it.

ALFRED KAZIN

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Dinner with FDR

Dinner at the White House, by Louis Adamic. New York: Harper and Brothers. 276 pages. $2.50.

THE REAL MERIT of this book is not its impassioned plea for One World but its dramatic picture of three great actors: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Louis Adamic has captured the spirit and personality of Roosevelt, the most controversial of the three, as well as, if not better than, anyone else I have read. It is far from the final picture, but it comes as close to the truth, I believe, as any yet drawn. It is not surprising that Mrs. Roosevelt has expressed her dissatisfaction with it, for Adamic points up FDR's weaknesses as well as his strength. He recognizes the man's genius at the same time that he wishes for a stronger and more closely knit human being. The picture of Mrs. Roosevelt is vivid and friendly; that of Churchill, vivid and harsh.

Adamic takes pride in the fact that the Roosevelts picked him as the chief guest for an intimate farewell dinner to Churchill on his first wartime visit to the White House. Perhaps it was one of Roosevelt's stunts to invite an extreme liberal and critic of British imperialism to needle the Prime Minister. Churchill seemed grumpy over the fact that Adamic was being forced down his throat, in book form as well as in person. The President had asked Churchill to read Adamic's *Two-Way Passage*, a suggestion for using Americans with European backgrounds to help lead democratic movements on the Continent.

Mrs. Roosevelt invited the Adamics to dinner on January 13, 1942. The first half of the book is a detailed description of the dinner conversation. The last half is an analysis of the mistakes the two leaders made in their postwar planning, with some vague and often platitudinous preaching by Adamic on the importance of world democracy. During dinner the war, then in its darkest days for the United States, was never directly mentioned. Neither was Russia. The President appeared gay and buoyant. He made several little speeches about how "our friend"—Churchill—must realize that Americans do not like Britain's colonial policy. Roosevelt graciously lectured his distinguished foreign visitor on the need for extending the frontiers of democracy. Here was the President of the United States turning on the charm for democratic principles. He was witty, impressive, delightful, indirect, prodding, feeling his way, and always acting.

"Churchill is the tougher, the more finished," Adamic thought as he watched the two men perform. "A Tory from head to toe. As a man, more all of a piece than Roosevelt. No splits in him. Cold. Hard. Deliberate. Capable of *anything*."

"FDR presents too many question marks to be reassuring. I prefer his wife's mood. . . . She's anxious. Churchill worries her. Perhaps FDR does too. The most striking thing about her is her genuineness. Roosevelt doesn't feel as strongly as she does. . . . A very, very considerable man, no doubt about that. . . . Often daring. . . . Often superficial. . . . Tremendous resilience, tremendous bounce. . . . He has imagination. . . . Extraordinary man."

Roosevelt and Lincoln are certainly our two most complex Presidents. They are the hardest in many respects to

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THOSE unknown North Americans—living in our midst yet separated from us by language, history, and religion—are here interpreted by an American observer and historian. "He has rendered this brief incisive account of the cooperation and conflicts between two races, politically united, but otherwise vastly unlike, with lucidity, coolness and, I believe, fairness."—EDWARD ANGLY, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*
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Mason Wade's
THE FRENCH-CANADIAN OUTLOOK

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understand. Perhaps they accomplished more than any other two Americans. "Lincoln, too, died before the job was done," Adamic says. "His leadership, perhaps less perfect in actuality than it later seemed, saved the Union. . . . Franklin Roosevelt's leadership, perhaps less imperfect in actuality than it may appear to history, saved the country. It also helped to save the world from being overwhelmed by what is the worst in it." At least he gave it the chance.

CARROLL KILPATRICK

King Capitalism

The Divine Right of Capital, by C. E. Ayres. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 214 pages. $3.

C. E. AYRES, professor of Economics at the University of Texas, enjoys an equipment for his calling unusual among economists because he began his intellectual career as a philosopher. He has long been a student and follower of instrumentalism according to John Dewey. This means among other things that he became familiar with the tenets of modern psychology before he began to teach economics. These circumstances make him more aware than most economic specialists of the fact that the foundations of classical economic theory were laid by men who accepted the concepts of eighteenth-century philosophy and the outdated assumptions of an extremely primitive view of the nature of man. His philosophical training also gives him a historical perspective and a keen sense of the traps which lie in wait for thinkers who are not constantly on their guard against confusing words with things. It is natural that an American with this background, entering the field of economics after the confused 1920's, should follow the lead of Veblen rather than that of John Stuart Mill.

The underlying thesis of this book is that the economic doctrine which supports capitalism is akin to that which supported absolute monarchy, and must suffer the same fate. Intellectually it is based on a logical error concerning the nature and function of capital. Traditional economists, in spite of their frequent attempts to distinguish between capital in the sense of accumulated funds and capital in the sense of the physical means of production, have usually confused the two in their operational theory. If these things were identical, then the supremacy of the owners of capital funds would be justified because of the supreme importance of a large and growing store of productive equipment. But they are really different, and there is no eternal necessity for making one dependent on the other.

The growth of productive capacity arises from many things other than the accumulation of the funds that buy plants and machinery. It is a consequence, for instance, of technological advance, education and good social organization. It may on occasion proceed more rapidly than the increase in the amount of money spent in acquiring its instruments. Conversely, the accumulation of capital funds may be more rapid than the opportunity to invest them in ways which yield a profit. The tradition which grants to the owners of capital funds control over production might be justified if it worked, but experience has shown that it does not. Its faults may be corrected by a limitation of absolute capitalism in the common interest, similar to the reforms which abolished the divine right of monarchs and substituted constitutional democracy. In default of such limitation, capitalism, like monarchy, will work so badly that it is likely to be abolished by revolution.

In addition, the book presents a specific program which combines the thinking of Hobson, Keynes and Hansen with the movement for social security. Mr. Ayres links oversaving with underconsumption. The bulk of saving is made by those in the higher income brackets. When they take too much from the stream of income and spending, they reduce the consumption of those in the lower brackets. The remedy proposed is to approach greater equality in distribution of income by progressive taxation at high rates, and expenditure of the proceeds in social-security benefits. Mr. Ayres admits that this would leave unsolved such problems as monopoly and the concentration of economic power, but he thinks it would aid in their solution and would of itself bring about full employment and full production.

Reform to plug the holes in our taxation system and the expansion of social security are desirable in themselves, but there are reasons for believing that they would not accomplish all that Mr. Ayres expects of them. He accepts the monetary hypothesis too uncritically and applies it too dogmatically. For instance, the figures of national income and its distribution indicate that taxation could not possibly take enough from the rich greatly to expand the purchasing power of any individual in the lower income brackets. Such a reform would not enable those in the lower brackets to buy or rent new housing, and so a housing boom would be likely to taper off in the future as in the past, once the demand of those in the higher brackets were satisfied.

Mr. Ayres relies heavily on the assumption that even a slight increase in the spending of the masses would bring about further increases in income as the money circulates throughout the system. But this acceleration cannot be counted upon, at least under all conditions. It is impossible to support his conclusions without careful consideration of the institutions of price formation and price policy—a subject which he ignores. It is also likely that much would have to be done about the institutional obstacles to technical improvement in capital-consuming industries like building if full production were to be maintained.

In spite of such technical defects, Mr. Ayres's main argument is wholesome and deserves more attention than it has received. He is at his best in setting the broad framework of the problem. He is incautious only in supposing that a particular device will assure full employment.

GEORGE SOULE

Without Anger

For All Mankind, by Léon Blum. New York: The Viking Press. 186 pages. $2.50.

LÉON BLUM, jailed by Vichy, completed the ms. of these meditations in December, 1941. His country was enslaved, his party destroyed, his own name reviled; yet the old man refused to despair. What strikes us in these pages is their unique blend of ardor and serenity. This is not a denunciation of the aggressors nor an angry retort to the collaborationists who had vowed: "Rather Hitler than Blum!" It is not a vindication: when compelled to defend himself, at Riom, Blum did so with such irrefutable lucidity that the accusation collapsed, and with it the whole moral armature of the Vichy regime. It is an attempt to read the

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lessons of the disaster; not for a season, but in the perspective of history; not for France alone, but "for all mankind."

First of all, the disaster was not due, as the Maurras school would have it, to a weakness inherent in the democratic regime. This demonstration might seem superfluous. Yet we, who once fought to make the world safe for democracy, endorsed Vichy and favored Giraud; following England's lead, we backed anti-democratic forces everywhere, in Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, China. We still fail to recognize the legitimate government of Spain. We are followers of Maurras without confessing it to ourselves; there still lurks in our minds the idea that democrats are "Reds," and therefore as objectionable in our eyes as Washington once was in King George III's.

By democracy, Blum makes it plain that he does not necessarily understand the representative system, in which the people is sovereign for one day every second year; nor parliamentary rule, with the eternal "knavish tricks" of the factions. He believes in a strong, independent executive, also in decentralization or federalism, territorial or functional. His ideal is close to ours; it is the very reverse of the André Philip constitution, voted down by the French people.

Without anger, but without pity, Blum condemns the class from which he sprang, the bourgeoisie. He recognizes that the bourgeois has virtues: he is hard-working, thrifty, honest. But the French bourgeois is a fossil of the pre-industrial age. He is an individualist, whereas the era of General Motors and Bethlehem Steel is of necessity collectivistic. He believes in sheer conservation: saving pennies rather than creating wealth through vision, planning, credit. There is no future for a petty-bourgeois France. If enterprise on the American scale is to be started, it will have to be through the State.

Blum condemns his allies the Communists, because they blindly follow the orders of a foreign, often ill informed autocrat: in this he agrees with de Gaulle and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. This was written before Russia and the French Communists redeemed themselves through their heroic resistance to Hitler. But the stain remains. No doubt the democracies had pointed the way by abandoning Spain, Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia. Still, but for the Hitler-Stalin entente, the Second World War might have been averted.

Blum condemns his own party, and the class which he led. It is a fact that the bourgeoisie tried to use the international situation to sabotage the belated and modest achievements of the Front Populaire. But, in fighting the bourgeoisie, the proletariat was tainted with bourgeois vices, the most damning of which is meanness, the all-absorbing thought of profit. "The working class lacked precisely the qualities needed to lead a nation—generosity, magnanimity, readiness to sacrifice one's own desire for the common good, all that Nietzsche called 'the grand manner in morals'" (and, I may add, what de Gaulle called grandeur). And socialism remained tangled in Marxian orthodoxy: "Had we grasped clearly enough the significance of Jaurès' attempt to transform Marxian logic? . . . Jaurès infused into the materialist conception of history all the idealism of the creeds of democracy and human brotherhood."

Blum still serves, but he is above the strife. He gives, not France alone, but America as well, and all mankind, a

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clear-cut, definite program: democracy, social justice, world organization. From brutality and meanness (power politics and "realism"), what can we expect but distrust and strife? We must recapture the spirit of Jaurès, the spirit of '48, heir to the spirit of the American and French Revolutions.

I can endorse every principle, even every detail of this practical and generous little book. Yet I feel I must end with what Blum himself left out: To what extent was Blum to blame? I am not alluding to minor inefficiencies which could have been redeemed. Was there a deeper flaw? I believe there was. Blum had sworn: "I shall never be a Ramsay Macdonald"—one who, in order to retain nominal leadership, betrays his principles. I know how hard it would have been, when the Spanish crisis broke out, to forfeit victory and abandon power. Yet if Blum had followed his conscience, if he had left the full responsibility of the disastrous policy to the British Tories, his own position, that of his party, that of France and of democracy everywhere, would have been immensely stronger. For a few months of uneasy and impotent rule, he bartered away his birthright. He was duped by the eternal fallacy: if a crime has to be committed, it had better be committed by an honest man. Father Gratry said that so long as Poland was enslaved, Europe would be in a state of mortal sin. These words today apply to Spain. And Poland as well.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

A Reader's List

Arsenal of Democracy, by Donald M. Nelson (Harcourt, Brace, $4). This is not a formal or official report of the war organization for production with which Uncle Donald Nelson was closely associated from the beginning. It recounts frankly and fairly not only the stupendous achievements of industry which enabled us to win the war, but the delays, inefficiencies and controversies which almost robbed us of that achievement. Incidentally, Nelson's testimony supports the position taken at the time by the *New Republic* on almost every one of the controversies centering about the war organization in Washington. Industry was at first reluctant to convert and underestimated the need for added productive capacity. The Army's programs

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were too small and it would not give the civilian administrators enough information. There was resistance to over-all planning by almost all factions except the New Dealers, the theorists and the progressive labor leaders. In spite of the experience of World War I, priorities and centralized control of purchasing were not adopted until it was almost too late. In the end the Army greatly exaggerated its needs and strove to dominate the economy at a time when we should have been beginning to reconvert. The experience is not reassuring for the prospect of planning the civilian economy in the interest of full employment.

The French Canadian Outlook: A Brief Account of the Unknown North Americans, by Mason Wade (Viking, $2). This attempt to trace in fewer than 200 small-size pages the history of the French-Canadians through some four centuries has resulted in a comparatively useful but understandably far too general handbook. Anyone seriously interested in the problem will probably ignore the present volume in favor of a larger and more detailed study which has apparently already been projected by the same author. Writing as an American, however, Wade is happily free to indulge both a historic objectivity and a sympathy extending to all Canadians alike, and his approach remains carefully balanced throughout. Moreover, most reasonable Canadians will be likely to agree by now with the author's conclusion that the two peoples will continue in the future, as in the past, united in spite of frequently serious differences, but in a large sense still unassimilated.

New Republic News

The headline on T. R. B.'s column last week—"A Nice Vacation"—reminds us that T. R. B. himself had a very nice vacation this year. Did anybody notice? Did the crack in the doorway show, even a little, as good old T. R. B. slipped out with his fishing pole and his bottle of sunburn lotion to let in T. R. B. (pinch-hitter) fresh and vigorous in the face of Washington's summer heat and political doldrums? How many weeks was T. R. B. away, and when did he return? Did he return, or are his roll-top desk and green eyeshade still collecting dust while T. R. B. number two works away in the opposite corner?

Get out the files and read over the columns, then send us your guesses. The first reader who tells us correctly which columns appeared while T. R. B. himself was basking in the sun will receive a year's subscription to the *NR*. The postmark on your letter is the thing that counts. We figure that anyone who can pull a T. R. B. rabbit out of a T. R. B. hat deserves some kind of reward, so we'll add three months to the subscriptions of those who answer correctly but late. Address your letters to New Republic News, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17, New York.

• • •

Several members of the editorial staff had a long and interesting lunch with Professor Harold Laski last week. He is visiting the United States after his recent trip to the Soviet Union, where he had a number of discussions with Stalin. Professor Laski's slight figure and resonant voice are familiar to students and lecture-goers all over America. It was hard to picture him in the role to which he was assigned by Lord Beaverbrook and other Conservatives during the British General Election last year—potential head of "Britain's Gestapo."

"They used that line, but our side received an overwhelming majority so I really didn't mind," Laski said and smiled shyly.

• • •

Kenneth Syers is a foreign correspondent for the London *News Chronicle*.

Edward Montgomery is UN correspondent for the London *News Chronicle*.

Alfred Kazin was formerly an assistant editor of the *New Republic*. He is the author of *On Native Grounds*, and the editor of the *Viking Portable Blake*, which will appear next month.

Carroll Kilpatrick is on the Washington staff of the Chicago *Sun*.

Albert Guérard is professor of general literature at Stanford University. He is the author of several books on French civilization, of which the most recent is *France: A Short History*, published this year by W. W. Norton.

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